

L I F E

O F

ROBERT Lord CLIVE,
BARON PLASSEY.

WHEREIN

Are Impartially delineated his Military Talents in the Field; his
Maxims of Government in the Cabinet, during the two last Wars
in the EAST INDIES,

Which made him ARBITER of EMPIRE, and the richest Subject in
EUROPE.

WITH

ANECDOTES of his PRIVATE LIFE,
AND THE
PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES of his DEATH.

Also a NARRATIVE of all the last TRANSACTIONS in INDIA.

V O L . III.

By CHARLES CARACCIOLI, Gent:

L O N D O N :

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T H E
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LORD CLIVE, BARON PLASSEY.

ON the part of the nabob he confirmed and ratified the treaty which he had formerly concluded with the company upon his elevation to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the company, their governor and council as his own. Indeed there was a great analogy between Meer Mahomed, (detestable maxims of politics,) and the servants of the company ; the honour and reputation of his masters and himself were equally contaminated.

He confirmed to the company the grant of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, for defraying the expences of their troops. He ratified the privilege granted them by their firmaun of carrying on their trade by means of their own dustuck free from all duties, taxes and impositions in all parts of the country ; the article of salt excepted ; on which a duty of two and a half per cent was to be

be levied on the rowana or hoogly market-price. He gave the company half the saltpetre which is produced in the country of Purnea, which their gomastahs were to send to Calcutta. The other half was to be collected by the nabob's souzdar for the use of his officers, and no other person was to make purchases of this article in that country. The lime made at Silbert for the space of five years, at the joint expences of the contracting parties, shall be equally divided betwixt them : he was allowed to maintain twelve thousand horse and twelve thousand foot in the three provinces ; if there should be occasion for more, the number may be increased by consent of the governor and council proportionably to the emergency : besides these the forces of the English company were always to attend him, when wanted. He engaged to advise the governor and council wherever he should fix his court, either at Murshadabad or elsewhere ; and he was empowered to demand what number of English forces he might have occasion for in the management of his affairs. He might have been sure that they should be allowed him, as often as their own interest suggested them to interfere in his public transactions. An English gentleman was to reside with him to transact all affairs between him and the company ; and a person was also to reside on the nabob's part at Calcutta, to negociate with the governor and council. It is known that the English resident at the durbar was a spy on the nabob's actions and his attendants.

The late pervannah's issued by Coffim Ally Khawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, were to be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

By the firman, granted by the mogul Furrukseer to the English, to secure them from the oppressions of subordinate governments ; they traded by their dustuck duty free. Upon the dissolution of the Mogul empire, the provincial government of Bengal became also independant : where the English trade growing extremely extensive, the privileges granted them by the dustuck became a notorious abuse, which in effect made them the monopolizers of all trade, even from the natives of the country.

The nabob, Meer Cossim, very sensible that such was the case, and finding difficulty to settle any plan with the English, which had not a tendency to oppress his own subjects, abolished all duties for two years : he was soon after deposed ; and as this abolition of duties, served to put the natives on the same footing of trade with the English company and their servants, therefore this article of the present treaty was made, that Meer Cossim's pervanah's should be recalled, and that the duties should again be paid by the natives, while the English were exempted.

The nabob was cause the rupees coined in Calcutta to pass in every respect equal to the sicca's of Murshadabad, without any deduction of Batra ; and whosoever should demand it was to be punished.

He gave thirty lacks of rupees to defray all the expences and loss accruing to the company from the war, and stoppage of their investment, and engaged to reimburse to all private persons, the amount of such losses proved before the governor and council, as they might have sustained in their trade

trade in the country. In case he should not be able to discharge this in ready money, he was to give assignments of lands for the amount.

He engaged to conform and to renew the treaty which he had formerly made with the Dutch, if the French came again into the country ; he was not to allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, hold lands, zemindaries ; but they were to pay tribute, and carry on their trade as in former times. This treaty was signed at Fort William on the 29th of July, 1763, by Messrs. Vanstatt, Carnac, Billers, Hastings, Marriott, and Watts,

The nabob Meer Jaffier, agreed by another treaty to pay the company five hundred thousand rupees per month, during the war with the nabob Sujah al Dowlah. He was so sensible of the instability of his grandeur, and the fluctuating councils of Calcutta, according to the private views of the chiefs of this settlement, made him so apprehensive of some new revolution against him, that he requested them to write in a proper manner to the company ; and also to the king of England, the particulars of their mutual friendship and union, and procure for him writings of encouragement, that his mind may be assured from that quarter, that no breach may ever happen between him and the English ; and that every governor, counsellor and chief of the English that are here, may be well disposed and attached to him ; and since all the English gentlemen assured of his friendly disposition to the company had confirmed him in the Nizamut ; he requested, they would give their credit and assent, to what ever he might at any time write ; nor regard the stories of designing men to his prejudice, that

that all his affairs might go on with success, and no occasion arise for jealousy or ill will between them.

He begged that no protection be given by any of the English gentlemen to any of his dependants, who may fly for shelter to Calcutta, or other of their districts, but to deliver them up to him on demand. He desired, that the governors of the company may attend to the lawful trade of their factories, and if any of them should act otherwise, that they might be checked in such a manner as to be an example to others.

From the neighbourhood of Calcutta to Hoogly, and many of their persons bordering upon each other, it had happened, that on complaints being made, people went against the natives of the country, which are generally both husbandmen, and manufacturers, to the prejudice of the business of the factor, wherefore he begged, that strict orders be given that no persons be sent from Calcutta on the complaints of any one upon my tenants, but that on such occasions application be made to him or the Naib of the Boundary of Hoogly, that the company may be subject to no lesser devastations, and if any of the traders who belonged to the office of customs and have settled in Calcutta, should be desirous of returning to Hoogly, and carrying on their business there as formerly, that no one should molest them. Chindernagore and the French factory had been presented to him by Col. Clive and given by him in charge to Meer Bay Khan, for this reason he hoped that strict orders shall be given, that no English gentleman exercise any authority therein.

but that it should remain as formerly under the jurisdiction of his people.

He declared he should expect, whenever he should have occasion to demand any forces from the governor and council for his assistance, that they should be immediately sent to him, and no demand made on him for their expences."

The president and council of Calcutta, did agree to all these proposals, and set their hands to it in Fort William, July 10th 1763.

The nabob Jaffier Ally Khawn, gave a note for payment of five lacks per month, for expences of the company's troops, during the war with Sujah al Dowlah.

The account of the money settled for the expences of the Europeans and sea-poys, the artillery and the raising of the cavalry was to be paid, till the removal of the troubles with the vizier, viz:

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|---|---|---------|
| In the province of Bengal, at Mur- | | | | |
| - shadabad | — | — | — | 300,000 |
| In the province of Bahar, at Patna | - | | | 200,000 |
| Total rupees | | | | 500,000 |

The nabob included in the aforesaid sum, whatever balance might be due from him on account of his former agreement with the company.

In regard to the articles signed by the prince Ally Gahar, in the character of emperor, it was, impossible, circumstanced as he was, that he should refuse to accept them; therefore the country of Ghazipore and the rest of the zemindary of Bul-wantsing, belonging to the nizamut of the nabob Sujah.

Sujah al Dowlah, assigned to the English company, as well as the regulation and government thereof, given to their capital, might be considered as grants of their own, since the prince was at their entire disposal, and was compelled to submit to whatever terms they imposed upon him ; he was even forced to consent that the revenues of the Rajah Bulwantsing zemindary, should no longer belong to the books of the royal revenue, but should be expunged from them. This is the first instance of a king of Hindostan, giving up the most essential part of his royal prerogative ; as notwithstanding the troubles of the empire, and the partition of the provinces amongst the viceroys become independant, that revenues were always supposed to belong to the books of the royal revenues ; of which the king of Dehly was reputed to have the entire management and disposal.

The only instance in which the king Shah Allum spoke as a sovereign, was on the conclusion of the imperial firmaun, by which he grants to the company, Glaespore, Banaras, &c. It becomes the company, says he, to shew their grateful sense of our royal favours, and to exert themselves to the utmost, in the proper management and regulation of the country to encourage and befriend our subjects ; to punish the contentions and expel the rebellious from their territories. They must use their best endeavours to promote the welfare of our people, the husbandmen, manufacturers and other inhabitants, to prohibit the use of things of an intoxicating nature, and such as are forbidden by the law of God ; in driving our enemies, and in deciding causes, and settling matters agreeably to the

the rules of Mahomed and the law of the empire ; so that the inhabitants may apply themselves with peace of mind and satisfaction to the cultivation of the country, and exercise of other their professions, and that the weak may not labour under oppression and violence. They will consider these as our strict injunctions.

It is manifest at the same time, that Shah Alum himself, considered his imperial dignity, little more than nominal, as he had no sufficient authority to enforce the laws without the concurrence of the company ; who, in fact, allowed him all the exterior honours of a monarch, whilst they were in the full possession of all the power, and ruled without control.

To compleat the force, the company's servants concluded a treaty, with Najam al Dowlah, on their investing him with the nabobship of Bengal, on the death of his father Meer Jaffer Ally Khawn ; the stipulations of the governor and council were to secure to the nabob Najam al Dowlah, the nominal subahdary of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and to support him therein with the company's forces against all his enemies. That is to secure to themselves this sovereignty, and to maintain their usurpation, against all their enemies, they engaged to keep a standing army ; the young prince could not be an object of envy, but rather of compassion, as he was absolutely passive in all the public transactions of his pretended nizamut, they knew the necessity of keeping up at all times, such forces as might be necessary, effectually, to protect these provinces from hostile insults. Their policy was to deprive him, in all means of defence, and

and not even to allow him a proper guard to support his dignity, and such a number of troops as were requisite for the support of the civil officers of his government, and the business of his collections through the different districts.'

They farther promised, that in consideration, the nabob should continue to assist in destroying the extraordinary expences of the war, that was carried on against Sujah al Dowlah, with five licks of rupees per month, which was agreed to by his father, that whatever sums might be hereafter received of the king, on account of their assistance afforded in the war, should be repaid by the nabob.

The nabob on his part, in consideration of the ignominious subjection, in which he was kept by the governor and council, which they called assistance and protection ; and for securing to him the succession in the subahdary of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa held by his father, and supporting him against all his enemies (though he had none but those of the company) agreed and engaged to perform and ratify the treaty which his father had formerly concluded with the company,

The second article was dictated to this young and unexperienced prince, by his imperious masters, to serve their ambitious views. The nabob was directed to declare, that considering the weighty charge of government, and how essential it was for himself, for the welfare of the country and for the company's business, that he should have a person who had experience therein to advise and assist him ; he did agree to have one fixed with him, with the advice of the governor and council, in the station of Naib Subah, who should have accordingly immediate-

mediately under him the chief management of all affairs, and as Mahammed Reza Khawn the Naib of Decca, had in every respect his approbation, and that of the governor and council, he did further agree that this trust shou'd be confided on him, and that he would not displace him without the approbation of these gentlemen, and in case any alteration in this appointment should hereafter appear adviseable, that as M. Reza Khawn, provided he had acquitted himself with fidelity in his administration, should in such case be reinstated in the Naibship of Decca, with the same authority as heretofore.

This article needs no commentary, it is manifest that the young prince was not allowed the choice of his officers and servants, they were to be appointed or removed according to the will of the governor and council, and the nabob was passive in all the public and domestic transactions of the state and his household, which were conducted by the supreme at Calcutta.

In the third article it was stipulated, that the business of the collections of the revenues, should under the Naib Subah, be divided into two or more branches, as might appear proper, and as the nabob was made to say, that he had the fullest dependence and confidence on the attachment of the English, and their regard to his interest and dignity, of which he was desirous to give them every testimony he further consented, that the appointment and dismission of the Mutseddees of these branches, and the allotment of their several districts, should be with the approbation of the governor and council and considering how much

men

men of his rank and station were obliged to trust to the eyes and recommendation of the servants about them ; and how liable to be deceived ; he further declared, it was his will that the governor and council should be at liberty to object and point out to him when improper people were intrusted, or where the officers and subjects were oppressed, and that he would pay a proper regard to such representations, that his affairs might be conducted with honour ; his people every where be happy, and their grievances be redressed.

As the company's servants promised themselves to derive great advantages from the collections of the revenues, they had contrived to have them divided in several branches, that they might be employed in this practicable business. Indeed, as the young nabob was at their mercy, he was obliged to acquiesce to their injunctions in regard to his very mutesdees, which lucrative offices the English themselves intended to fill. Indeed, he was too much obliged to shew an implicit faith for the company, which must have had the meanest opinion of his understanding, if they thought he did not perceive their gross deceit and imposition. The governor and council was at liberty to approve or reject the choice he had made, even of his menial servants, and an attachment to their master was imputed a crime and punished as such. They wished to be the very instruments of oppression, as the nabob durst not call them to account ; and the people were sure never to have their grievances redressed, whilst their tyrants were their judges.

He confirmed to the company as a fixed resource for destroying the ordinary expences of their troops,

Burdwan,

Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong as ceded by his father ; and agreed to pay the sum of five lacks of rupees for their maintenance out of his treasury ; whilst the exigency of the company's affairs for keeping up so large an army continued. When the company's occasions would admit a diminution of the expences they were put to, on account of these troops, he hoped the governor would then relieve him from such a proportion of this assignment, as the increased expences incurred by keeping up the whole force necessary for the defence of the provinces would admit of ; and as he was persuaded to esteem the company's troops as his own ; he maintains only such as were immediately necessary for the dignity of his person and government, and the business of his collections through the provinces.

He ratified besides, and confirmed all the treaties of his father. Having engaged, if he should occasionally remove to other places in the provinces, to have always the books of the sircar kept and the business conducted at Murshadabad, the seat of his government, under the inspection of the English. He consented, wherever he was, that an English gentleman should reside with him, to transact all affairs between him and the company ; and that a person of high rank should also reside on his part at Calcutta, to negotiate with the governor and council. The company insisted that there should be no Europeans whatever entertained in his service ; and if there were any, they should be immediately dismissed.

The interference of the English East-India company's in all the wars and contests of the country

thy powers, and the assistance they occasionally give to their temporary allies, to subdue princes, who live in friendship and alliance with other European states, and have with them a commercial intercourse, has given great offence to our rivals in trade settled in the Carnatic.

The little kingdom of Tanjore lying to the East of Madura, has lately been transferred to one of the company's vassals, who is to lend his name to all the public transactions, whilst the English shall sway over his dominions as they do in the Bengal provinces ; and whenever he shall prove refractory to forward their oppressive measures, he will be, no doubt deposed, and perhaps lose his life with his acquisitions. The soil of Tanjore is fertile, and its princes were rich and hospitable to all trading nations. Within it lies the Dutch fortress of Negapatam; and the Danish settlement of Tranquebar. In 1612, Christian IV. king of Denmark established an East-India company at Copenhagen, and soon after four ships sailed from thence to the East-Indies. The hint of this trade was given to his Danish majesty by James I. of England, who married a princess of Denmark ; and in 1617 they built and fortified a castle and town at Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel. The security which many of the Indians found under the cannon of this fort, invited numbers of them to settle here ; so that the Danish East-India company were soon rich enough to pay to their king a yearly tribute of ten thousand rix-dollars. The company however willing to become rich all of a sudden, in 1620 endeavoured to possess themselves of the spice trade at Ceylon ; but were defeated by the Portuguese :

guezè : the truth is, they soon embroiled themselves with the native Indians on all hands ; and had it not been for the generous assistance given them by Mr Pitt, governor of Fort St. George, their settlement at Tranquebar must have been taken by the rajah of Tanjore. Upon the close of the wars of Europe, after the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, the Danish East India company found themselves so much in debt, that they published proposals for a new subscription, for enlarging their ancient capital stock, and for fitting out ships to Tranquebar, Bengal and China. Two years after his Danish majesty granted a new charter to his East India company, with vast privileges, and for some time its commerce was carried on with great vigour. The Danes overawed by the great superiority of the English on that coast have acted with such prudence and moderation, as not to give the least umbrage to the new commercial sovereigns of the East ; but when they saw the ruin of the prince who afforded them protection effected, they looked upon their establishment at Tranquebar as a precarious possession, which perhaps they will not think worth their while to preserve, with all the clauses and restrictions the English company will lay on their commerce. The reduction of Tanjore, like all other conquests of the English company, in the peninsula of Indus, has been suggested by the restless ambition and avarice of some of their military servants, who know that war is for them a profitable trade ; and never want pretences to carry on their hostile designs against the neighbouring states, when stimulated by the prospect of wealth and plunder. The expedition against the kingdom

of Tanjore had been planned in the beginning of year 1774, and the nabob Mahomed Ally Khawn, a man qualified in every respect to second the ambitious views of his allies, marched the beginning of July with an English army to Tanjore, and laid siege to this capital. It was defended for two months with great spirit and resolution, till at last the garrison exhausted by fatigue and sickness, still determined to baffle the attempts of their enemies ; ran the risk of an assault, in which the place was carried, the king taken prisoner, and that kingdom, one of the most ancient of the coast of Coromandel, was extinguished. All the horrors and calamities that defenceless inhabitants can suffer from a licentious soldiery, concluded a dreadful scene of carnage, plunder and desolation. The infatuated Indians looked upon this place as invincible, it being the center of their idolatry.

The Danish missionaries who have been remarkably zealous in propagating the gospel in Tanjore and the neighbouring provinces, had civilized several tribes of Indians, in introducing amongst them morality and the christian virtues.

Some attribute to Lord Clive, a plan presented to Mr. Pitt, for establishing in India a powerful empire : from the mouth of the Ganges to the Gulph of Cambriya. Had this project which was really practicable, though not perhaps consistent with good policy and diametrically opposite to all notions of equity, been adopted by government ; Lord Clive in gratifying his own pride and ambition, with the hopes in that case, of being appointed a viceroy of all the rich peninsula of Indus, did not consider all the obstacles and difficulties, which

the English nation should have met in the execution of this stupendous enterprize, which had no doubt inspired all the powers of Europe with jealousy and indignation, on such alarming aggrandizement, and engaged them to unite against us. According to his lordship's aspiring views, the East India company should have been either annihilated, or reduced to its original subjection and insignificance. All the commerce of India, courted by all trading nations in the world, with the highest materials of luxury, would have centered in England.

The French, Dutch, Danish and Portuguese settlements on both the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, taken from these maritime states, with permission only to have consuls resident at certain fixed places, for a commercial intercourse. His lordship engaged to pay in ten years the national debt, with the Gani and Raalconda, diamond mines added to the treasures of Indostan. The seat of empire should have been at Galconda, and the peninsula within the Ganges, divided into eight provinces, with governors, subordinate to the viceroy and accountable to him for their conduct and administration. He required only a few officers of tried abilities, and a certain number of serjeants trained up to military discipline, incorporated with sea-poys, of which an army of thirty thousand men was to be kept in constant pay, without British troops. Both coasts were to be guarded by a chain of forts, from Calcutta round Cape Commeran, to Surat, the island of Cylon, thought to be by nature, the richest and finest in the world ; was to be conquered in part, from the Dutch and the natives ; as it produces the most precious articles

cles of commerce ; such as long pepper, fine cotton, ivory, silk, ebony, musk, crystal, salt-petre, sulphur, lead, steel, besides excellent cinnamon, gold and silver, and all kinds of precious stones, except diamonds. All the nabobs and rajahs were to be reduced to the condition of lords with allotted domains, but divested of all sovereign authority. The valuable fishery of Madura, was recommended to the protection and encouragement of the government. The mines were to be under the inspection of a British officer, and all diamonds above a certain weight; were to belong to the crown; as a proof of the practicability and permanency of such a scheme, his lordship mentioned the great influence we had already acquired in India; that the Gentoos were entirely passive in all the revolutions of their government. That the Mahometans ignorant and treacherous as they were, did not appear to have a violent attachment to any religious principle, and were abject enough to live under any form of government, that we should be pleased to prescribe; nor were they in any condition to dispute an authority supported in the name of the British empire. That their different principles manifested the impossibility of effecting a union of their forces, especially under a mild government, that could not drive them into desperate measures. Had the war continued, it is not improbable that a great man at the head of affairs, might have adopted part of this plan, to supply the exigencies of government at such a juncture; however, this was never discussed in the king's council, nor proposed to the legislature; and like many other wild and extravagant projects

indicate more ambition and avarice than wisdom and equity.

As lord Clive is essentially concerned in the narrative of the conduct of Sir Robert Fletcher in the East Indies, which will throw a light on his lordship's transactions ; we shall here submit to the judgment of our readers, what Mr. Strachey, secretary to lord Clive, has published concerning the mutiny of the officers of the army in Bengal, as worthy of observation. It was in consequence of the mutinous conduct with which Sir Robert was charged, that he was dismissed the service. Mr. Strachey's narrative came to the knowledge of Sir Robert Fletcher, some time before his last appointment in the East India company's service ; he demanded of lord Clive a copy of it ; and Mr. Strachey refusing it, agreed to Sir Robert's perusal of it. As Mr. Strachey confessed that this narrative was hastily penned in his voyage from Bengal, in 1767 ; where he was acting as secretary to lord Clive, who was at that time on board the same ship ; it is to be supposed it was written under the inspection of that nobleman, as the whole subject in question, lies between lord Clive and Sir Robert Fletcher ; consequently Mr. Strachey cannot be looked upon in another light, than a transcriber, who had left at the discretion of his master, his name and reputation, to obtain that credit, which neither of them could singly procure.

In consequence of this state of things, his lordship is in justice to be considered as the real author : and Mr. Strachey as an editor, subscribed his name to it, out of regard for his master. Had lord

Lord Clive been called upon by the committee of secrecy, to justify his conduct in the cause of the mutiny, no just exception could have been taken to Mr. Strachey becoming an evidence of the truth: but no such subject of enquiry was necessarily to be brought before that committee: it related to the double batta, with which subject an account of the mutiny at least, of Sir Robert Fletcher's being dismissed from the service on this occasion, formed no part. -Lord Clive had reduced the batta, and Mr. Strachey wanted his lordship's evidence, in regard to the circumstance of doubling and reducing that payment. Sir Robert was tried for mutiny, and dismissed the service in 1766. He was restored to the company's service as second in command of the troops at Madras. All remembrance and effect of the combination of the officers was sunk in oblivion, in regard to Sir Robert; but no time can efface the impressions of vindictive resolves, levelled at the heaven-born general. Lord Clive, conscious that Sir Robert could contradict every material circumstance which reflected dishonour on his conduct, recurred to his usual arts. Sir Robert was then employed in effacing the injustice of that ignominy, which his lordship and the court-martial had endeavoured to fix upon him. The previous malignity of Lord Clive destroyed the very designs of his malevolence, as the East-India company perceived his lordship's motives, which induced them to restore them to their favour. It is manifest that the characteristic of Lord Clive, was pride and envy; next to his lordship's rapaciousness, contempt of the rights of in-

jured princes, and absolute insensibility to the calamities of human kind.

On the subject of mutiny and dismission of Sir Robert Fletcher; on the transaction that passed in the East India house, March 3d, 1768; the opinions of the generals, Lawrence and Caillaud; called for by the general court, differed so widely from those of the majority of the court martial; which were confirmed by the governor and council of which lord Clive and general Carnac were two; that the court of directors, desired the general court to delay coming to any resolution thereon; till they had had time fully to consider how far the company's interest might be affected by any resolution repugnant to the sentence of a court martial of officers, and confirmed by the governor and council. It was then resolved, that the consideration of the said motion, as to Sir Robert Fletcher, be postponed until the next general court. At a general court, April 8th, 1768; the directors observed, that the court was appointed to consider of the following motion, made at the last court, viz:

" That it is the opinion of the court, that Sir Robert Fletcher do now receive the public thanks of the company, for his judicious and prudent conduct, and that he be immediately restored to that rank, in our service, which he would have held, supposing him not to have been dismissed."

I must beg leave to observe, that the conduct of the directors in this, as in many other occasions is ridiculous and contradictory, as they should never dismiss from their service, an officer of high rank, without proofs of his neglect or want of capacity; and being restored afterwards to their favour, is

an instance of their versability ; which quality may be commendable in a man of the world, but not in a commercial company.

This motion had been made by Mr. Cornwall, at the preceding general court. On the making of the motion Sir Robert Fletcher himself, thought proper to move, that the preceding motion be amended as follows, viz : " That it is the opinion of the court, that Sir Robert Fletcher be immediately restored to that rank in the company's service, which he would have held supposing him not to have been dismissed."

By this amendment, Sir Robert modestly declined the thanks for his services, and desired to be restored only to his former rank ; in which station, he behaved with the skill and courage becoming the command he held. Had the first motion passed in the affirmative ; the character of his lordship, both as a general and a man of honour, must have been greatly impaired, if not totally demolished, and with regard to some of the gentlemen in Bengal, his lordship was, at the time of Sir Robert's trial, invested with such absolute powers, and distributed his rewards and punishments, with so liberal a hand to all men, accordingly as they obeyed or rejected his dictates. Neither were the members of the court martial, proper persons, as the mutiny act directs. Some of them had been engaged in personal disputes with Sir Robert and others ; his lordship's particular friends were largely benefited, both in rank and emolument, by Sir Robert's removal from the service. It cannot be a subject of surprise, that it was neither recommended by the court martial,

nor restored by the governor and council. In Leadenhall-Street, indeed, they were not so complaisant, and therefore betwixt the day on which the preceding motion was first made, and this of the second, his lordship, his emissaries and agents exerted every effort, that malevolence could prompt, or power and interest obtain and carry into execution. During the debates, the directors, acquainted the court, that having taken into their most serious consideration the motion on the 31st of last month, and then postponed an opinion thereon, which they desired to offer to the court, viz : " That the court of directors on the 7th of April, having taken into consideration the reports of the generals, Lawrence and Caillaud, on the court martial, held upon Sir Robert Fletcher, with the motion made thereupon ; and referred for the consideration of the court this day ; they think it their duty to represent to the general court, that if such motion would now take place, it would, in their opinions, be attended with the most fatal consequences to the company's affairs. As a restoration of rank and thanks to Sir Robert Fletcher, would be such a reflection upon the officers who composed the court-martial, and upon the governor and council who approved it, as will tend to the relaxation of military discipline; if not the ruin of service.

A determination being thus evaded on the amendment, in which the article of thanks was omitted, and the motion fixed from that part which would have thrown the strongest reflections on the court-martial and the council, had it passed in the general court of the company. The main question

was defeated in the manner it had been previously planned by his lordship and his adherents , if Sir Robert Fletcher were to be thanked and restored , the court martial and council , lord Clive , and Carnac , were justly reflected on . Mr. Dunning in the court of King's Bench declared , " That Sir Robert had preserved the company from utter destruction " The injustice of his lordship in his final determination is manifest In order to coincide with the ostensible reasons delivered by the directors , and which had been devised to cover the inveterate pursuit of lord Clive , Sir Robert was not to receive the rewards of his merit , nor the council be obliquely condemned for their confirmation of the sentence .

After a debate , the previous question being put , whether the question on the amended motion should be put , it passed in the negative This decision Mr Strachey did represent as a defeat of Sir Robert Fletcher , and a kind of confirmation of the rectitude of his sentence but in fact , the directors reasons for not thanking and restoring him to the service , were not founded on any demerit in him , but on the prevention of bad consequences for the future The futility and chicane pronounced by Sir George Colebrook respecting the questions of the generals Lawrence and Cailliaud , the indefatigable application of lord Clive and his friends , as well as that of the court of directors , and the extensiveness of their influence , will certainly determine ~~shar~~ against such a combination , so considerable a number as eighty six , in favour of Sir Robert at a time , when his particular friends were absent was a real triumph ; and as it consisted solely

solely of the independent proprietors who were present, was equal to end more honourable than a majority consisting of party men and votes made with lord Clive's money : and of these eighty-six, two were the present governor's-general of India, and the chief supervisor who was lost in the Aurora,

Sir Robert in the judgment of all impartial persons, being thus cleared from every just cause of accusation respecting the mutiny in Bengal, was soon restored to the service, and appointed second in command at Madras : and as this was done by the unanimous resolution of that very court of directors, which had availed the preceding motions from taking effect, which had obeyed the inclinations and been subservient to the views of lord Clive : the character of his lordship, by a just implication, was more flagrantly exposed to censure, respecting the removal of Sir Robert from India than before. The re-instating of the latter was in fact a sensible humiliation of the former ; and a tacit confession by the court of directors that his lordship had dealt unjustly by him. So have published the narrative when Sir Robert was restored and failed from India, would have expressed the abject intention of attacking the character of a person who was not present to defend himself. It would have pronounced the soreness of his lordship's soul, at seeing justice and truth prevail over jealousy and resentment : in fact, it would have done that in which the half cunning are frequently mistaken. It would have compleated by the means of publishing the narrative at that time, the perfect demolition of that temple of fame which had been delusively erected by those who were either igno-

rant of his lordship's real transactions, had flagitiously assisted in his Herculean labours, and shared in the honourable productions of them, as well as of others, whom he had purchased and had sed to be at once the architects of that visionary fabric, and the heralds of his achievements. It is not the character of lord Clive to execute his intentions by halves. He is a snake that does not previously shake his rattles to warn the unwary traveller, whom he intends to kill by his sting: but the worm of vengeance that never dies in his bosom, was not the more inert, because his lordship was silent and had never been ill treated by Sir Robert Fletcher. His detence must not be considered as springing from a desire of reciprocal vengeance; but from a laudable propensity of exculpating himself from the attack on his character, which his lordship formerly devised, and has now thought proper to revive, and bring not only before the tribunal of parliament, but that of the whole people of Great-Britain.

The house of commons having resolved to inquire into the nature, state, and condition of the East-India company; the battle, or rather the escape near Calcutta; the leaguing with Meer Jaffier, a subject, to dethrone his sovereign; the breach of that oath and treaty, which he made to Serajah Dowlah; the affixing of the respectable name of a British admiral, without his consent to a fictitious treaty, the deception of Omichund a joint conspirator, the deposing and murdering of Serajah Dowlah, together with almost, an infernitude of other criminal transactions, were dragged from the dungeon of iniquity, and exposed to view, by the publi-

publication of the ministry and reports of the select committee. These enormities pierced the bosoms of every human being with inexpressible compassion for the injured, and with abhorrence for those who had perpetrated such unexampled cruelty and horrible injustice. Among these lord Clive did no escape the general execration the public had lawfully entered upon the territory of his whole character, which had been so long encumbered by a heavy mortgage of iniquitous transactions.

A committee of secrecy being appointed by parliament, to a like purpose with the select, his lordship conceived the delusive idea of compensating in some degree, by means of the former, for that loss of reputation which he had suffered by the latter for I am credibly informed, that the select committee, not without some resentment of the attempt, refused to admit his narrative of Mr. Strachey, to be brought before them in evidence. He said, by way of apology, that when the secret committee of the house of commons, towards the close of the last session of parliament, were investigating the military affairs of Bengal, one of the members who had heard of the narrative, desired to read it, he sent it to him, it was the very book Sir Robert Fletcher had read. The honourable member soon after asked him if he had any objection to the giving it in evidence to the committee, he told them he had none. The narrative of the Heaven born general's secretary, concerns not only his evidence, but reasonings on the particulars, apologies, and justifications of his lordship, censures on Sir Robert Fletcher, together with

with the copies of letters, unauthenticated ; and a variety of other vague misrepresentations. In fact, that publication has hardly the most distant appearance of a witness delivering the truth, which alone ought to be admitted on such occasions. But if an advocate, hired to combine the testimonies and depositions of other men, adding arguments, specious and delusive, of his own, in order to impose on the public, and to make the feeble cause of his client as plausible and imposing as he can, does it not, therefore, seem probable, that something more than is expressed, passed in secret between the two members of the secret and select committee : for as he is his lordship's secretary, might he not possibly have condescended to become his broker on this important occasion ? This suggestion arising from the preceding circumstances, is more easily conceived and credited; than demonstratively to be proved. It may, indeed, be unjust, respecting the servant, if it can be evinced to have been accomplished by the master. This design of placing, in the scale of the secret committee, something in his lordship's favour, which may counterpoise, although in a very scanty degree, that which had so disadvantageously fallen into the scale of the select committee, was not the sole inducement, which prevailed at present to the giving of this narrative in evidence. His lordship's unrelenting malevolence against Sir Robert Fletcher, fondly conceived it had now a favourable opportunity of indulging itself, and offering an ostensible reason to the inconsiderate, for its being published in the reports. Had it rested at that point, some palliative might

might have been offered in extenuation of this illiberal proceeding. Some assertion, which although no sensible man would have credited, was such as could not have been refuted. It might have been averred, that it was called for in evidence, and could not be refused. And who could have disproved this averment? unless the secretary of Lord Clive had been indiscreetly pleased to tell the self-condemning tale of its being asked for, and had published his narrative separately. But as things are now exhibited, the publication of the narrative, at once pronounces the vindictive spirit of his lordship against Sir Robert Fletcher. His distress on his loss of character, and the subserviency of his secretary, can a doubt then be entertained that the sufferings which have sprung from the discovery of his military, political, and treaty-making conduct in the territories of Indostan, have dispatched him in search of menial ease to the avocation of new scenes in Italy? But is it not impracticable to sooth a bosom, tortured with that anguish which he feels, from that honest indignation that is expressed against him in every frowning-forehead of his countrymen? But is there not an inseparable companion which has taken an absolute possession of his soul? Will she not accompany him in all his journeys, dwell with him in every house, and constantly recall to his terrified remembrance, every torturing idea, from which he would give his millions to be relieved? But all is in vain. The benevolent creator of man has primordially ordained, that the consciousness of guilt shall eternally haunt the restless soul of him who has perpetrated

trated egregious crimes Alas! his lordship cannot flee from himself.

It must now appear, that both the giving of his narrative in evidence by the secretary, and the giving of it to the world in a separate publication, can be nothing less than an ebullition of an infatuate and vindictive spirit and the following circumstance will, I doubt not evince it to be, in like manner both illiberal and insidious.

"Sir Robert Fletcher was in India, and in all probability there to remain for some considerable length of time, as his lordship and his secretary believed It was impossible for him at that distance to defend himself The committee being also secret, there were no means of opposing that improper evidence It was about the same time well known, that Sir Robert, and other members of the government at Madras, had disagreed with the president and several of the council, and were there no other proof existing, this present attack on his reputation, for a transaction almost forgotten, and rendered incredible by his being reinstated in the company's service, would stand forth as an unanswerable evidence of its illiberality and insidiousness But it stopped not there the publication of this narrative, separately, included a double treachery the idea of his being mutinously inclined was new revived, in order to create a collateral testimony of his having been of the like disposition in Madras, and the late disagreement at that place was reciprocally to assist in giving credit to the secretary's candid production With this honest intent therefore to serve both these laudable purposes, the affair of the mutiny has been

published, without dating the time of that trans-
faction, and the public was left to apply it to both
or either, as they pleased. But such has been the
issue of their criminal intentions: Sir Robert is un-
expectedly returned, to the no small confusion of
the noble lord and his honourable secretary; and
their embarrassment I trust, will not be in any
wise diminished, by what shall be irrefragably pro-
ved afterwards. As his lordship has been pleased
to approve, if not to command the evidence of his
secretary to be published in the manner already
related, with the double view of preserving some
slender fragment of his mouldering reputation, and
to depreciate the character of Sir Robert Fletcher.
There is no occasion to make either scruple or apo-
logy for examining the evidence which my lord has
himself been induced to depose before the select
committee. And surely, this must be acknowl-
edged by his lordship and his associates, (for real
friends it is impossible that such a man can possess)-
to be doing him a favour: since according to his
own deposition, his services have been so honoura-
ble to his country, has masters and himself; and
his actions guided by conscience in various instances
of self-denial. By this, his own evidence, he
shall be tried: and although he boasts of his ho-
nourable services, defends his conduct, and pre-
sumes to call himself, not only a guiltless, but a me-
ritorious subject of the king, and servant of the
company; had he been arraigned in any court of
England, he would have been found guilty on his
own confession."

The analysis of the hearts and heads of mankind is
not to be accomplished but by repeated operations

carried on in a series of experimental inquiries, replete with important circumstances of their conduct. These will exhibit the infallible means of discovering the true and prevailing qualities of which the human race is composed. From this perseverance in remarking on the conduct of individuals, there will result sufficient reasons, on which to determine the motives from whence their conduct has proceeded in all their momentous transactions : for men can but rarely belye their ruling passions and propositions on important occasions, so long and so effectually as to conceal the knowledge of them from the research and penetration of the inquisitive and discerning. I shall therefore attempt to delineate with precision, impartiality, and candour, the characteristics of the Heaven-born general, from the time of his first commanding the hind forces of the East-India company at Bengal, when Calcutta was re-taken, to that of his return to England ; and in effecting this design, I shall take the liberty of examining, elucidating, and separately publishing those parts of his lordship's evidence which are requisite for that purpose, as they stand in the reports of the select committee. From this examination, it will be seen of what admirable stuff his lordship is composed ; and what are the striking features which characterize his soul. This portraiture, delineated from his first, and honourable services in Bengal, as they are by him so presumptuously denominated, will then remain a kind of archi-type, with which to compare his honest features, as they will be seen in a second delineation of him, after his last return from that unhappy land, in which he so plentifully

tifully sowed the seeds of lamentation and of mourning, of extortion, plunder, famine, and surgery. It was during that time, among his other honourable services, Sir Robert Fletcher was treated in that illiberal manner, which will be hereafter most faithfully related, and unanswerably proved, to include a pre-meditated intention of destroying the well-gotten fame of a commander, who supported and increased the glory of the East-India company. What has been said by Horace on the splendor of the sun, is safely applicable to the darkness of his lordship, *Aius et idem negitur.*

We shall now trace the noble lord's footsteps through all those honourable services which he performed on the banks of the Ganges. As it is from actions alone, that the characters of men can be ascertained, this narrative begins with those which were performed by Lord Clive, whilst he was first in Bengal after the retaking of Calcutta ; and the progression of his military, political, and rapacious deeds in that country, are examined. From this enquiry there will naturally arise a discovery of those motives which urged his lordship in his career ; what are the ruling passions of his soul ; and the characteristics that so signally distinguish all his conduct. This narration is dictated by a heart, not dead to the sensations of human sufferings, and the obligations of justice ; it is supported by the oral accounts of persons well informed of the subject, or by written and printed evidence, but chiefly derived from the depositions of Lord Clive himself, confirmed by orders given at the select committee appointed by the house of

com:

commons." On the veracity of this evidence his lordship will not refuse to rely.

Aliver de Khawn, nabob of Bengal, and grandfather of Serajah Dowlah, being grown extremely old, and thinking himself no longer qualified to govern his people, had associated his grandson as his coadjutor in his sovereignty, and placed him on the throne of his dominion in the year 1756. Kessendas, a collector of the nabob's revenues, foreseeing that the death of Aliver de Khawn was at no great distance, and apprehensive of the consequences which might probably arise to him on his decease, withdrew himself from the court of the nabob, and under the pretence of making a pilgrimage as an act of devotion, he embarked his women and his treasury on board a number of boats, and landed them at Calcutta about the end of March. At the same time, he brought letters from Mr. Watt, who was then the resident, or minister for the company at Muyadabad, strongly recommending him to Mr. Drake, the governor, as the son of Rajah, who had great power at court, and who might be of great service to the East-India company's affairs in that province. Oliver de Khawn dying on the 9th of April in the same year, bequeathed his dominions to Serajah Dowlah, his grandson. As the latter had been previously advanced to sovereign authority, in conjunction with his grandfather, he took absolute and full possession of the government, without the least resistance; for although, according to the constitution of Indostan, the Mogul alone had the right to appoint nabobs to the provinces of that extensive empire, and to remove them at his pleasure; yet since the

time in which Nadir Shaw had taken Dibby, and over-run the imperial state, the Moguls were no longer masters of appointing what nabobs they pleased; but those alone ascended to power, who, by art, arms, and money, could attain the means of placing themselves in such exalted stations; yet none of those conceived themselves to be constitutionally elevated, unless their government was ratified by a patent from the Mogul.

According to the constitution of Indostan, the ministry and collectors of the royal revenues in the reigns of proceeding nabobs, are amenable to the orders of them who succeed, and they cannot legally withdraw themselves from their cognizance. Serajah Dowlah, being now the sole governor of Bengal, by a letter to Mr. Drake, demands Kissindass to be delivered up to him, and this letter contained also remonstrances against some new fortifications which were then erecting in defence of that place. Drake, contrary to the custom hitherto observed, thought proper not to send back an answer by the person who brought the letter; but ordered him to leave the town immediately, under the unwarrantable pretence of his coming in disguise, and not as a public messenger from the nabob.

This insolent contempt on the dispatches of a sovereign, in whose dominions they lived, were tolerated and protected, contributed not a little to inflame his resentment against the English. An answer to the letter above-mentioned however, was on more sober reflection, not long after returned to the nabob. In this answer the governor positively refused either to give up the subject to his

foye,

The governor, who before had treated the nabob with insult and disdain, when he was at a distance, at his approach was terrified beyond measure Ignorance and timidity directed all his actions, he fled from his duty, and Calcutta, after an attack of some days, was taken by assault

By the law of arms, Sirajah Dowlah might justifiably have chastised this arrogance of the council, and have put all the English to the sword On the contrary, when Mr. Holwell, who commanded after Drake, was brought before him in bonds, he ordered his hands to be unbound, and solemnly declared, that not a hair of their heads should perish But this restoration of liberty in the person of Mr. Holwell, and the declaration of their safety, were not intended to preclude the means of preventing the English from renewing hostilities, or creating disturbances in the night They were therefore ordered to be confined, during that season, but the officer who was delegated to the care of that order, unfortunately sent them to a place called the black hole, which being too small for the number, and without a free admission of fresh air, out of 150 that were therein shut up, no more than twenty two of them survived till eight the next morning One must be callous to all tender sensations not to feel an unexpressible sensibility for the enormous sufferings, which the unhappy prisoners must have undergone, in this more than torturing situation It seems the nabob had no design of taking away the life of any individual person, who had been inclosed in that place of horror This opinion is confirmed by the evidence, which Mr. Coole, at that time secretary

to the governor and council of Calcutta, has delivered before the select committee of the house of commons; to this, he also adds, that, as he believed, the size of the black hole was unknown to the nabob.

The clamour which was then raised, and the horrors which were excited against this Asiatic prince, as the willing perpetrator of those enormous cruelties against the English, were excessive. And they have since been frequently applied in justification of those egregious acts of injustice, which were at that time commenced, and have since been pursued by some of those who then survived, and those who have succeeded them in the East-India company's service against that prince, his successors, and subjects; notwithstanding this provocation on the part of governor Drake and the council, the nabob signed an instrument with Mr. Watts, that the English should have liberty to carry on trade, on equal terms with all other nations, their patent of predilection being abolished. Having promised what appeared to be necessary for the understanding of the subsequent parts, I shall now take the liberty of examining the evidence, and state the achievements of the heavenborn general, when he commanded in Bengal, and regardless of his celestial nativity, freely make my observations on his conduct. News being brought to Madras of the fate of Calcutta, it was resolved to send a military force to recover it, and lieutenant colonel Clive was resolved on by the council to have the command of it. This as his lordship assures us, was the wish of every officer. In the beginning of October the troops were embarked on board the

squadron and transports under the command of Admiral Watson. On their arrival within a few miles of Calcutta, the land forces were disembarked ; and then his lordship makes a most-general-like observation indeed, that the ships went by water, and the land troops went by land.

No commentator on the military actions of great commanders could have made so curious and so keen a remark. This strange phænomenon of ships going by water, and land forces by land, together with a few shot fired from the fleet, so terrified the troops of Serajah Dowlah, that they abandoned the fort ; and then his lordship boldly entered into it, at the head of these land forces that still continued to march by land, and thus Calcutta was taken.

This fact being accomplished, his lordship says, he encamped his army, and entrenched himself about four miles from Calcutta, in expectation of Serajah Dowlah and his army, who were then on their march to that place. In a few days the nabob and his troops arrived, and they were permitted to pass unmolested, by the heaven-born general, within half a mile of his lordship's camp ; and then they encamped on the back of Calcutta. By this manœuvre they were situated between the English camp and the place his lordship intended to protect. Does not this event seem to convey a very exalted idea of his lordship's science in the military art ? during this march however, Serajah Dowlah, by letters to his lordship had proposed a treaty and terms of peace. The natives who saw how things were circumstanced between the two armies, fled from the country, and all communication by land with

with Calcutta being cut off by Serajah Dowlah, his lordship perceived that if something was not done, both the squadron and the land forces would be starved out of the country. On this account he sent Mr Srafton and Mr Walsh to the nabob that evening, and on their return their ambassadors assured his lordship, they thought the nabob was not sincere in his attentions for peace, and that he meant treachery. From lord Clive's account it should seem, the general, being a man of surprising foresight in military affairs, had forgotten that his army must eat, and consequently had provided no sustenance for them. And thus by encamping his own forces, and suffering those of Serajah Dowlah without opposition to choose that ground on which they were encamped, he was prevented from receiving necessary provisions for his troops, and in a great degree from protecting Calcutta.

which he assented " For it seems, the admiral was convinced from his lordship's close manner of reasoning, or by the distressful situation in which he had placed himself, that an army which had nothing to eat, must soon be demolished, unless they can speedily get provisions So this destiny, he and his sailors had as little inclination, as if they had been land forces, and had come from Madras all the way by land The sailors were landed, the troops were in arms, and about four o'clock in the morning they marched to the attack of the nabob's camp but hunger, that will eat through stone-walls, is not a less vigorous incentive to engage in battle " It was his lordship's intention," as he says, " to have seized the nabob's cannon, and to have attacked his head quarters, but when day light appeared it was nevertheless all darkness for there arose so thick a fog, that it was impossible for the army to see three yards before them, which continued till they had marched through the nabob's whole army " His lordship " cannot ascertain the loss the enemy suffered, but it was reported to be very considerable," because, as I suppose, it being impossible for the troops under his lordship's command, to see three yards before them, they were thereby enabled to point their cannon and fitlock with a greater certainty of killing than the Asiatics " " Our loss, however, amounted to about 150 killed and wounded The English continued their march to the fort, where the troops were allowed an hour to rest, and then ordered back to camp "

This as I take it, seems to be as well fought a field, as hath at any time been known on the surface

face of the globe. His lordship did, indeed, design to do wonders : for, as he himself says, he intended to have seized the cannon, and to have attacked the head quarters of Serajah Dowla ; but, a plague upon it, that pestilent fog arose. And thus without seeing the enemy, or the enemy seeing them, he and his troops got clearly through the nabob's army , and again reached Calcutta, from which they had been intercepted by the encampment of the Asiatic troops. Accordingly, to my manner of conceiving things, this single event, were there no other inducements, would sufficiently prevail on us to believe that his lordship is in reality a heaven-born general. For 'who' of a less sublime descent, has at any time, been so signally preserved by a fog ? Æneas, who was also a heaven-born general, on the mother's side, his lordship is as much so by the father's, as the mother's, was on one occasion preserved from the wrath of Diomedes by a fog , by Homer poetically called, her veil in which his mother Venus enveloped him On another he received the like favour, when he stood secure and unseen, in the presence of queen Dido, until it was known what might be the inclinations of that princess, towards him.

In this instance, near Calcutta, the general himself, and the whole army were not only preserved from destruction, but a victory was obtained, by being surrounded with a fog, according to the accounts that were then published in the Gazette.

This success, however, cannot with propriety be ascribed to the heaven-born general - because his intentions of seizing the cannon, and turning them

them against the nabob, were frustrated by the fog.

To the assistance of that alone, all the merits of this well-fought field, is instantly to be ascribed as under that protection, he passed cleverly through the Asiatic army to Calcutta. Serajah Dowlah having discovered, on the dissipation of the fog, that under that concealment, the heaven-born general had escaped him, and regained Calcutta; marched from the place of his encampment, and the heaven-born general returned again to his former camp.

When the intelligence of this great and bloody victory was first transmitted to England, the Gazette told us that there was no more than forty-one killed, and sixty-five wounded; in all, a hundred and six: for as Falstaff says, in speaking of his buckram-men, "It was so dark, 'Elal, thou couldest not see thy hand.'" Serajah Dowlah, having in like manner marched off in the same fog, was in the evening, eight or ten miles from the English army; and then he sent a letter to the heaven-born general, and admiral Watson, signifying, that he desired to treat with them.

Upon this; it was agreed to receive his proposals without delay; and a treaty was concluded, which is upon the company's records. The reason that this treaty was not more advantageous, continues his lordship, was, that he had just received advice of a war with France; and the French had within the garrison of Chandernagore, as many Europeans as the English had in the field; and if the French had joined Serajah Dowlah before the conclusion of the peace, the English must have

have been undone, for there wanted only some intelligent person to advise the nabob not to fight at all, and the English would have been ruined. It will hardly be called in question, that the fog being thus opportunely sent, is a convincing proof that his lordship is a Heaven-born general. But as the invidious reluctance of mankind to acknowledge superior birth in others, is too frequently seen in this wicked world, I would willingly flatter myself that a short illustration of the latter part of this adventure, will satisfactorily evince it to be the celestial place of his nativity, by the propitious favour that was then bestowed on him. What I mean is, his receiving the preceding advice at the very nick of time to save him from ruin.

Setajih Dowlah sent letters to his lordship on the 4th of February with proposals of peace. Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton returned from him with a persuasion that the nabob intended treachery. The battle was fought, the victory won; or rather the no brtle was fought, and the escape accomplished in the morning of the succeeding day. In the evening of the same day, Setajih Dowlah desired to treat with the heaven born general a second time, and the latter was glad to receive it, without delay; for the reason for which he assigns.

From these circumstances, it is not evident, that this advice must have arrived the very day before the battle was fought, otherwise it must have appeared as requisite to have entered on a treaty on the evening of the 4th, as of the 5th, for there appears no more reason to distrust the truth of Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton's former discovery, at that time, than twenty-four hours before; nor to

conclude a peace because Serajah Dowlah was marching off, than before the attack : unless to these reasons the admonitions of hunger, and the suspicion of being assisted by a second fog, might have added their influence. Be that as it may, his lordship says, " If there had been one intelligent person to advise the nabob not to fight, the English had been undone ; and therefore the heaven-born general enters on and concludes a treaty, to prevent Serajah Dowlah from engaging in battle.

As to his fears of the nabob's conjunction with the French, that event, his lordship tells us, he had the means of preventing. For, " During the treaty the French proposed a neutrality which he refused." And many unenlightened persons would have imagined that this refusal was no improbable method of uniting him with the French, and supplying the nabob, with the assistance of the intelligent person, so requisite to his success. And this his lordship did, notwithstanding " the nabob had forbidden the English to attack the French, and declared, if they did, he would become their enemy." Does not this behaviour fully evince the rectitude of that judgment, which his lordship had previously delivered ? That, " if the nabob and the French were united before the peace, the English must have been undone ;" and amply justify his notable refusal of the neutrality, which would have precluded that union, and preserved both him and his army from ruin ? More especially, as by that heavenly conduct, after being acquainted with the intentions of Serajah Dowlah towards the French, he did every thing in his power to promote

the union of the two forces that must undo the English.

Is not this extremely consistent with that wisdom which so signally marks the conduct of his lordship? and may it not, from hence, be justly derived that he is as truly a heaven-born politician as a general? for certainly no earth-born being could have conducted himself so wisely, in promoting the very event he feared and intended to preclude.

The treaty, in consequence of the antecedent overture, was signed the 9th of February 1757. Admiral Charles Watson and colonel Clive promised, in behalf of the English nation, and of the English company, that from henceforth all hostilities shall cease in Bengal; and the English will always remain in peace and friendship with the nabob, as long as the articles are kept in force, and remain unviolated. These articles were signed by the nabob, and witnessed by Meer Jaffier, and Rajah Dowlabram.

It is no incurious question, to ask by what authority his lordship subscribed this treaty, in the name of the English nation, by whom was he delegated to this authority? not by the English nation; for they possess no such right: not by the king; for by him it was never granted.

What was it then less than an usurpation of authority hitherto unknown, and a species of rebellion in thus presuming to contain his sovereigns rights, and to set up one for his subjects.

To this unexampled act of audaciousness, for less than which Lally lay shorter by a head at Paris, was added the following agreement, of the same date with the treaty: "We, the East India company,

in the presence of Serajah Dowlah, by the hands and seals of the council, by firm agreement, and solemn attestation, do declare, that the business of the company's factories, within the jurisdiction of the nabob, shall go on in it's former course : that we will never oppress or do violence to any person without cause, that we will never offer protection to any having accounts with the government, any of the king's (the Mogul) collectors of his rents, nor to murderers, nor robbers. That we will never act contrary to the tenor of the articles agreed to by the nabob : That we will carry on our business as formerly, and will never, in any respect, deviate from this agreement."

Such was the solemn attestation and agreement of the council at Calcutta : with this the subsequent agreement of lord Clive was enjoined. " I, colonel Clive, commander of the English land forces at Bengal, do solemnly declare in the presence of God and our Saviour, that there is peace between the nabob Serajah Dowlah, and the English. They the English will inviolably adhere to the articles of the treaty made with the nabob, and that as long as he shall observe his agreement, the English will always look upon his enemies, as their enemies ; and, whenever called upon, will grant him all the assistance in their power."

Such was the solemn ratification of the treaty for which his lordship is pleased to give reasons, in his evidence, that it is not more advantageous. When it is considered that by the 4th article, the company is allowed to fortify Calcutta, as they shall think proper, and in the agreement, by the council,

cil, that they will not afford protection to such as have accounts with the nabob, nor to murderers and robbers, can it be reasonably concluded otherwise than that the council by their former transgressions respecting Kissindahs, and by their treatment of the nabob, in the person of his messenger, had given just cause of offence, and for the taking of Calcutta ? and considering that the affair of the battle was no more than an escape in a fog, and that the fleet and army would have been starved without it , does not the treaty seem to have been as advantageous, as could have been equitably expected ? however, it must be confessed, that there is one point in which his lordship might not think it so advantageous as it ought to have been , for the heaven born general gets nothing for his service but honour, if he acquired that . And although before the committee," as Fluellen says, "of ancient Pistol, he uttered as brave words as you shall see of a summer's day," and talk'd so highly of his honourable services, as if he had preserved the state ; yet, by his actions, it is at least as equally apparent, that his notions of honour coincided with those of Sir John Falstaff, who with pronouncing " honour to be a mere scurcheon concludes his catechism." Now having attempted to prove that his lordship is heaven-born, both as a general, and a politician , I come now to evince that he is not less of heavenly descent, as a man of honour and conscience.

It is more than probable, that during the time in which this treaty was negotiating with Serajah Dowla, for the establishment of peace'; two others of a very different kind were entered on : one bet-

tween his lordship and Meer Jaffier ; and the other between the former and Rhada Gar Khawn Laity, competitor with Meer Jaffier, for the subahship of Bengal , and consequently both to the same pur-
port of deposing that very prince, whose subjects they were, and whom his lordship had promised to defend by a solemn declaration before God and his saviour. Be that as it may, Serajah Dowlah retired with his army to his capital , and never infacted, nor refused to comply with one article of the treaty. Monsieur Dupleix had already shewn the heaven-born general, how lucrative it was to traffic in the manufacture of nabob-making. It hath been frequently observed, that the French are more fertile in inventions, and that the English more excellent in improving on them

In no instance hath that observation been more signally verified, than in this, of which I am speaking.

Notwithstanding the nabob hath thus given every proof of intending to fulfil his obligations, lord Clive affected to believe and to propagate, that because the sovereign resolved to preserve his dominions from the calamities of war, had forbidden the English to attack the French, and sent the latter, men and money, to preserve them from that disastrous event, which must inevitably involve his own subjects in distress, that he intended to commence hostilities against the East India company. But to an understanding susceptible of conceiving the duties of a sovereign, and directed by the dictates of a pure conscience, this conduct of the nabob will appear to be expressive only of the providence of a good and benevolent prince, who intends the happiness of his subjects. - For, " at this

this time," says Mr. Dow, in his history of Indostan, " In Bengal, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture were encouraged; it was one of the richest, most populous, and best cultivated kingdoms in the world ; - the great men and the merchants were wallowing in wealth and luxury; the inferior tenants and the manufacturers were bless'd with plenty, content, and ease ; it was not then the custom to take the honey by destroying the swarm. The English were more rigid than the Moguls.

We have encroached on their privileges, and annihilated their power, " These were scenes of oppression which fate had reserved for an unfortunate people to our times.

The servants of the freeit nation upon earth have left the body of the people to the mercy of the collectors of the territorial revenues ; and the miseries of Bengal were reserved for these times." but alas ! such is the obduracy of the human heart, when invested with power, and stung with the lust of acquiring wealth, that the virtues of the sovereign, and the happiness of fifteen millions of inoffensive subjects, weighed little in the scale of ambition and rapaciousness. For although every circumstance evinced, that the nabob was resolved on preserving peace to himself and of preventing it from being infracted by those people whom his predecessors and the moguls had permitted to establish factories in their dominions, for the sake of enriching the country and their subjects by commerce ; yet the conscientious lord Clive, had no doubt that Serajah Dowlah then intended to drive the English out of Bengal."

Would

Would to heaven that this suspicion had been accomplished at that time! what millions of unoffending people would then have escaped the calamities of war, ruin, devastation and famine; and England not have contaminated her honour by actions, which disgrace the idea of humanity. "A reinforcement, says his lordship, arriving from Bombay, it was taken into consideration by the committee consisting of Drake, Clive, Kilpatrick, and Beecher; whether they should undertake the attack of Chandernagore at the risk of displeasing the nabob, and having his army to encounter? Beecher and Kilpatrick gave their opinions for a neutrality; his lordship for the attack, and Drake gave an opinion which nobody could make anything of" It seems then, that this Mr. Drake had not a capacity sufficient to say, yes or no: when the question was put for attacking the French: which seems to be a degree of understanding, hardly superior to that of an ideot. For unless this be allowed, the representation of it by his lordship is incredible. Thus there were two and one, nothing to one against his lordship. "But major Kilpatrick asked lord Clive, whether he thought, the forces and squadron could attack Chandernagore, and the nabob's army at the same time; and his lordship said, he thought they could: the major then desired to withdraw his opinion and to be of his lordship's" Upon this, lord Clive, Kilpatrick, and Beecher took upon them to vote whether the governor Drake's opinion, was any opinion at all; and in this vote the colonel and the major being a majority, it passed that what the governor had voted, was no vote. This is probably the first instance in which a committee have

have ever dared to deliberate, whether the first in rank of that committee had or had not given an intelligent vote ; and to set him aside in voting whether he had or not ; and then determine to his dishonour, that he had not ; his lordship treads new paths wherever he attempts to pass : and if this decision be not equitable, it is at least audacious, *audaces fortuna juvat*, but there existed no other means of obtaining a majority than by converting or excluding one of the two opponents to his lordship's opinion ; and as the former could not be done, the majority was obtained by the votes of two, that the opinion of one of the other two was no opinion at all ; this proves that it was positively against his lordship, and that this ignominious artifice was invented to render it, ineffective. A letter was then written to Admiral Watson, desiring him to co-operate in the attack of Chandernagore, and here I shall presume to ask, whether it can be considered as an act of presumption in me to imagine, that his lordship's differing in opinion, at first, from all the others, was entirely owing to his superior knowledge, in what might be effected by the English army : or to that time, carried on between him and Meer Jassier, by the inter-mediation, of Mr. Watts, resident at Müxadayed.

In consequence of this opinion, thus obtained, Chandernagore was, at the same time, attacked by sea and land, and it soon surrendered. His lordship says "the squadron surmounted difficulties which he believed, no other ships could have done, and it was impossible for him to do the officers

ficers of the squadron justice upon that occasion; and it was in a great measure taken by them."

But notwithstanding this, his lordship "does believe that the place would have been taken by the army, if the squadron had not gone up ; it must have fallen into their hands, but not so soon. What may be his lordship's reasons for believing that the place would have been taken without the assistance of that squadron, which did more than my other ships could have done, and by which, he says, it was in a great measure taken, is beyond my capacity to determine. But I am of an other belief; because all those who have been examined on this occasion, are unanimously of an opinion directly opposite to that heaven-born general ; however, to do justice to his lordship's singular sentiments, I do heartily agree with that part of it, which he next delivers." I think, says he, "if the land forces and seapoys, could have been landed in Calcutta, every event which has happened, would have happened, without the assistance of the fleet."

I am apprehensive that I do not clearly conceive the meaning of my Lord. Does he mean if the land forces could have been landed out of ships, without the assistance of ships to bring them? or that were it possible to have landed them in Calcutta itself, where they could not be landed? why then, indeed, in either of these cases, I should be of his lordship's opinion. But as it was impossible these things could be so contrived, I conclude diametrically on the contrary side to the heavenly-born general.

From this species of logic, so frequently to be met with in his lordship's evidence, I should have been inclined

inclined to think were marriages allowed in heaven; that this heaven-born general was begotten by St. Patrick after he was sainted, but perhaps the Irish title may have conveyed something of the country along with it.

After Chandenagore was resolved to be attacked, my lord informs us, he repeatedly said to the committee and others, That they could not stop there, but must go farther: that having established themselves by force, and not by the consent of the nabob, he would endeavour to drive them out again.¹¹ Does not this preparative opinion for attacking the nabob, bear even the caricatured features of having concluded, or at least of having commenced the treaty for dethroning Serajah Dowlah? and when his lordship declares, that they had established themselves without the consent of the nabob, did not his celestial memory fail, or his divine conscience desert him? since he had concluded a treaty, not two months before, with that nabob, who had therein consented to their establishment; and granted them terms of advantage, adequate to the desires of every honest man? It cannot but be confessed, that it was an act of no small atrociousness, to presume to attack the French in that part of the world, and bring the miseries of war on the subjects of a sovereign, in whose dominions these assailants resided but by toleration: more especially, as it is expressly said by lord Cambden, and the late chancellor York who were at that time attorney and solicitor-general in their report, December 24, 1757, on the petition of the East-India company, "That it is agreeable to the terms and intention of all the charters given to the company by

his majesty, or his royal predecessors, - which empower them to make war in the East-Indies, only to recompense themselves for losses or to repel invaders. And neither of these circumstances required either the attacking the French, or the spreading of devastation and war over the dominions of the nabob. This intention therefore was doubly unjust : it is at the same moment an ignominious breach of treaty with an unoffending ally, and a transgression of those rights of making war, which are by the laws of England, granted to the East-India company. And surely that army, which had been pronounced to be able to engage Serajah Dowlah, and to attack Chandernigore, at the same time, had now much less reason to fear, or to go farther, and declare hostilities against a prince with whom they had so lately sworn to live in friendship, and defend them before the French fortress was taken. Was it not the knowledge of this treaty, so treacherous on the part of the English, that concealed within his lordship's bosom, urged him to the adoption of the antecedent opinion ? but the noble lord continues, that they had "numberless proofs of the nabob's intentions upon many records" Numberless indeed, my lord, for that which exists not cannot be numbered. But were it in your power to have produced one such record, either in heaven, earth, or hell, should not your lordship have brought it, on an occasion the most important to the vindication of your honour, and the support of that honest fame, which is more dear than life to those who deserve the name of man ? yet not one of all the number, which his lordship would

have

have the world to believe to be existing, has he adduced, and in Vansittart's narrative it is declared to be a mere suspicion. Has he forgotten that on the 7th of February preceding this declaration to admiral Watson "he had solemnly declared, in the presence of God and his Saviour, that there shall be peace between the nabob and the English; that the English will inviolably adhere to the articles of the treaty made with the nabob, that as long as he shall observe his agreement, the English will always look upon his enemies as their enemies, and whenever called upon, will grant him all the assistance in their power."

Was it not worth your care, my lord, to produce one record out of the amazing number, to free you from this heinous charge of violating your declaration, so solemnly plighted in the presence of God and your Saviour. Can neither the obligations of religion nor of conscience, united with the sensations of honour, and the stipulations held sacred in human alliances, preserve the least influence in your bosom? whatever may be your opinion respecting these momentous considerations, the breach of them has been, is and ever will be detested even by villains, when they have no views of acquiring riches, nor direct and immediate interest in such particulars. Can you conceive that money, which purchases every thing in this world, can prevail in heaven also? and that whatever may be the atrociousness of the crime, the punishment can be bought off? Can you sleep, my lord? Does conscience, that "makes cowards of us all" not touch your lordship's bosom? or has gold become so powerful an anodyne, that it lulls to rest

all feelings of remorse ; and renders you insensible to every impulse that strikes from heaven and from hell, and cleanses the hearts of other men. These questions are fully resolved by his lordship's evidence. He confesses " he did suggest to admiral Watson and Sir George Pococke, the necessity of a revolution." This hideous design he confesses, even uncalled to such confession in his evidence. Even at this time, after the unexampled and accumulated perpetration of such deeds, the description of which is too terrifying to be attempted by my feeble and unequal pen ; Is it not more than christian charity enjoins us to implore the mercy even of the all-merciful on men so lost to every invitation of virtue, and so insensible to all feelings of humanity, shame and conscience. But to what enormities will not the incitements of fall ambition, and the lust of gold impel mankind ? - his lordship proceeds, " Mr. Watson and the gentlemen of the committee agreed upon the necessity of it, and the management of that revolution was with, the consent of the committee, left to Mr. Watts and my lord," and they with joy accepted and carried it into execution. Forbear your execrations, readers, if you can ! with respect to the committee, I have not one word to offer in their defence. But as to admiral Watson's consent, the sole being in the whole number engaged in this treacherous and sanguinary machination, who appears to have the least idea of honour, faith, and conscience, I have my doubts. There is reason to suspect also, that his lordship's manœuvres has failed him on this occasion ; for Mr. Brereton, the only evidence on the spot, at the time of this transaction deposes,

deposes, that admiral Watson thought this revolution a dishonourable undertaking, and the iniquity of those who were engaged in it so great, that he had no desire to remain among them any longer. He thought it an extraordinary measure to dethrone that prince with whom they had so lately made a solemn treaty. But as he was instructed by the king to afford the East-India company assistance in their affairs; he assisted them with his forces according to his duty, for these reasons and this which follows, from the lips of lord Clive, " That Mr. Watson was always consulted, but declined being a member of the committee :" Can it be doubted that he did not approve the insidious undertaking which was to dethrone a prince, who had neither violated nor evaded one article of the treaty, and who remained in tranquillity, although colonel Clive had presumed to commence the miseries of war in his dominions against the French, who was as equally established, as justly entitled to, and as lawfully lived under his protection as the English. Can it be otherwise than remarked, that as all those who were then in Bengal, and were called as witnesses before the committee, that Mr. Brereton is almost the only person who can be truly said not to have been a witness in his own cause ; and on that account, more unexceptionably deserves the credit of the public in what he deposes : not that I mean to reflect on the testimonies which have been given by several others, who have delivered their evidence on this occasion. To the General and to Watts the conduct of this honourable service of deposing Serajah Dowlah was committed : both of these deserving personages, the first as commander of the army,

army, the second as member of the council, had by firm agreement and solemn attestation in the presence of God, declared that they would "inviolably adhere to the articles of the treaty." Waits at the time of framing the conspiracy, was resident at the nabob's court, as minister for the company ; and with him his conscientious lordship corresponded in cyphers. Meer Jaffier was the man who offering the largest sum for the perpetration of this insidious act, was determined to be placed on the throne of Bengal. In consequence of this conclusion, a treaty was stipulated with the subject to dethrone his sovereign ; and by the very ally, who no more than three months before, had solemnly sworn to protect him from all his enemies.

The treaty which had been concluded with Serajah Dowlah on the 7th of February, had by the 3d article stipulated, " That restitution be made to the company of their factories and settlements which had been taken from them, &c. that an equivalent in money be given for such goods as were damaged, plundered or lost, which should be left to the nabob's justice to determine. This circumstance affords an evidence, that even in the minds of the general and council, Serajah Dowlah was a prince in whose integrity and justice it was safely to be confided ; and that he had given no cause of suspicion, that he would evade or refract the articles to which he had sworn according to his own religion. Besides the unjustifiableness of the attempt, the interest of the company, whose servants; both his lordship and the council were loudly pronounced against the undertaking of a deed so perfidious, so disgraceful, and so inhuman. His lord-

lordship notwithstanding this objection, resolved without hesitation, to stake the existence of the company in Bengal, on an attempt which was to enrich himself and his associates. It is a deprecating reflection on human kind, but I fear it is too just to be denied, that success in dishonourable endeavours is too frequently justified by the approbation of others, who are enriched by it. His lordship, the committee, and the council were convinced of the truth of this scandalous depravity so prevalent in human nature, when it has been civilized by wealth, obtained even by the destruction of the innocent and deserving : and they accordingly prepared the means by which that event might be effectuated ; prosperity attended their criminal transactions. The treaty with Meer Jaffier, which preceded the deposing of Serajah Dowlah, included evident marks of the provident nature. Instead of confiding in the justice of the nabob to make satisfaction for the loss and injuries which the company, the council and the factors had suffered, certain sums were expressly stipulated to be paid by Meer Jaffier, to all who had suffered at Calcutta by the troops of Serajah Dowlah, and to impart on one of disinterested intentions, those whose losses had not been included in the treaty with Serajah Dowlah, were considered in that of Meer Jaffier. " In consequence of this, 1,200,000 l. was to be given to the company, &c. and on Mr. Becher's suggestion that the committee, who managed the great machine of government, was entitled to some consideration as well as the navy and army : Mr. Watts was written to on that subject ; but what that consideration was, his lordship

ship never knew till after the battle; as it is called of Plassey." This being known it seems, "Mr. Watson insisted that he was entitled to share of that money; but the majority of the gentlemen would not agree to it; and my lord himself was of opinion, that Mr. Watson was not of the committee: but he proposed to the gentlemen to contribute as much as would make his share equal to the governor's and his own, and sent the proportion of the share he had received. "In this place it is necessary to remark the modesty of the general. He and the council-servants of a trading company, debated upon the claim of Mr. Watson, the king's admiral, whether he should have a share in the money which was given: and then denying he had any right, proposed a contribution which was also rejected: but the general says he did justice to his services, although he denied him his just right to the money. Indeed, before the battle of Plassey, there seemed to be no great occasion to be particular in an enquiry, of the specific sum which Watts had stipulated for the select committee: but when the hen had hatched, it was expedient to know the number of the chickens: and then on hearing the sum, his lordship was conscience-touched, and declared, "he thought it too much, and proposed that the council should have a share in it. And in this manner it was contrived that all should participate in the prey, that none might be left to be clamorous against the iniquity. And this is a specimen that the policy of his lordship was equal to his sordid appetite; for may it not be reasonably concluded, that the council, who had approved

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the design ; would have heavily complained of not sharing in the plunder, and have represented this affair in a light unfavourable to the general, in their letters to the directors in England ? in this place therefore, those who are not intimately acquainted with the conscientious designs of his lordship, may probably impute his opinion to left-handed wisdom, than to motives springing from a sense of equity in the distribution of the money. The sum was however, as Mr. Becher had stated it, about 100,000L and this sum added to the preceding, amounts to two millions of money, which Meer Jassier had stipulated to pay on being seated on the throne of Bengal : besides immense presents, as it will be seen hereafter.

The three conspirators are gone to receive the reward of their transactions, where they must find that the whole wealth of India cannot influence their judge. The principal actor in this tragedy executed justice on himself; and on no occasion have I heard a more general lamentation among all such of the human race, as do not righteously deserve to be publickly put to death. The infamy, insidiousness and crime of being at once an ambassador at a court of an allied sovereign, and a conspirator against him even in this degenerate age, wants not the terrific pencil of Spagnister to fill our souls with horror. Whilst the minister was frequently with Serajah Dowlah on terms of favour, he was refriously plotting his destruction. But on this detestable *undertaking*, it was found expedient to associate that Omichund already mentioned, who was a Bengal merchant and confined a prisoner in Calcutta by Drake, when the place

was taken and plundered by Serajah Dowlah, Omichund having sustained a considerable diminution of his riches from the nabob's army, when they plundered Calcutta, was not only incensed against his prince, but desirous of regaining by treason what he had lost by war. At the same time, as he had been ill treated by the English, in being imprisoned, he was naturally a person unsuspected of being well inclined to them ; and as he was a man of weight and intimacy with Meer Jaffier, and other great men of the nabob's court, he was esteemed to be a proper person to be co-adjutor in this perfidious cause. Omichund was neither less infidious, less rapacious, nor less honest than either of those who planned and were carrying on the work. He therefore, with readiness engaged in this conspiracy ; and when things were so far advanced that he possessed the power of disclosing and preventing the design, he resolved to avail himself of that power ; for he concluded, that those with whom he was conjoined in treachery, totally void of faith and honour, from the notorious violation of both, by their perfidious breach of treaty with Serajah Dowlah ; and therefore, that no confidence could be reasonably placed in their promises. He was in like manner and for the same reasons, equally convinced that the terror of discovery and death alone could operate on men of such abandoned principles. Being therefore associated in their crimes, he resolved to participate in their depredations ; and peremptorily demanded of Watts 30 lacs of rupees, and five per cent on Serajah Dowlah's treasures, which amounted to four millions sterling, and if Watt's refused to comply with this demand, he said, he would

would inform the nabob of their design, and get him put to death. Watts terrified by this menace, transmitted this account to his lordship ; and my lord, on receiving this advice assumes the honourable service of planning the means of preserving Watts, deceiving Omichund, and continuing him a faithful ally in their execrable undertaking. And all this was to be accomplished by a h^et^titious treaty, for he had previously planned the deposing of Serajah Dowlah, by a real one. To this account his lordship adds, " That he thought art and policy warrantable in defeating the purposes of such a villain as Omichund ; and that the council assented to it."

It is very remote from my intention to attempt an extenuation of this charge of villainy in Omichund. I readily allow its truth : but at the same time I acknowledge myself in great embarrassment, by what arguments to make that an honourable service in his lordship, which was villainous in Omichund. The merchant, a subject of Serajah Dowlah, was engaged in a conspiracy against his sovereign unactuated by any palliating motives.

His lordship had declared, in the presence of God and his Saviour, that he would invariably adhere to the treaty made with the nabob : he had been the planner also, or at least the approver of purchasing Omichund to dethrone his prince. The treaty with Meel Jaffier was not in consequence of defeating Serajah Dowlah openly in arms, but a preparative stipulation to encourage them to a hostile invasion of his country, without his having afforded the least reasonable pretext for this detestable breach of faith. His lordship confidently pronounces,

nounces, that all his are honourable services, and defies the world to contradict it. I must therefore resign it to better casuists to settle this distinction, and explain in what manner villainy in Omichund and honour in his lordship, can arise from the same transactions. But his lordship is an honourable man : so are they all ; all honourable men. The words of Sir John Falstaff so distinguished for his elevated and sentimental conceptions of honour, " Plague upon't, when thieves cannot be true one to another." The demand of Omichund was apparently complied with ; and a treaty drawn up, in which it was stipulated, that he was to receive the thirty lacks of rupees, and the five per cent. on the nabob's treasures : and by this artifice so warrantable in his lordship's opinion, Omichund was delusively withheld from discovering the conspiracy to his sovereign. It seems this fictitious treaty was written on red paper, the true one on white.

His lordship who knew that this red treaty must be deemed invalid by Omichund, if it were not subscribed by Admiral Watson, conceiving also, that in all men interest would supersede the sense of honour, transmitted that treaty to be signed and sealed by that naval commander. But this Watson, whose heart was heart of oak, when he was engaged in his sovereign's service, and in actions truly honourable, had on many occasions a head that was heart of oak also. For it was not to be impressed with an opinion, that actions, ignominious in themselves can be rendered honourable, by the acquisition of riches that are consecutive of them. He would therefore neither sign nor seal that delusive treaty ;

treaty ; but absolutely condemned it as infamous in itself, and dishonourable in him to approve or ratify. On this occasion his lordship first says, " Mr. Watson refused to sign it ; but to the best of his remembrance, gave Lushington who carried it, leave to sign it for him. That his lordship never made any secret of it. He thinks it warrantable in such a case, and would do it again a hundred times. He had no interested motive in doing it ; and did it with expectations of deceiving a rapacious man : and yet we shall soon find, that this disinterested hero rapaciously acquired, beyond the sum of one million by this deceit, as much as would more than a hundred times reward his services, were they all honourable ; as he so confidently pronounces them to have been : yet such is the difference of opinion amongst mankind, that I find not many people inclined to agree with his lordship's disinterestedness of temper, either on this occasion or any other ; more particularly, as in another part of his evidence he says, " he had fixed upon this time to make his fortune easy, and certainly that event could not have been well accomplished, had Omichund discovered the conspiracy to Serajah Dowlah."

His lordship then asserts " he had never heard Mr. Watts had made a promise to Omichund of money directly nor indirectly. I beg his lordship's pardon, and desire to differ from him on this occasion ; for if he had not heard that Mr. Watts had directly promised that Omichund should receive the money already mentioned, why did he plan a fictitious treaty, which in appearance was to give it to him ?

His lordship then says, that Mr. Lushington was the person who signed admiral Watson's name,¹ by his lordship's order, and subsequent to this he adds, " he did not recollect whether Mr. Lushington brought back the treaty with Mr. Watson's name. To the best of his remembrance, Lushington told him, that admiral Watson gave him leave to sign his name to the fictitious treaty. He does not recollect whether Mr. Watson's seal was put to it; but believes the name and seal were put to both the treaties, before they were dispatched to Mr. Watts. And that his lordship in another part of his evidence, says, he should not have declared that Watson had consented to have his name put to the fictitious treaty, if he had not understood so from Lushington; but that he would have ordered his name to be put, whether the admiral had consented or not. The reader must reconcile all these incongruities: we shall only remark, that in England, the signing or ordering to be signed, another man's name to a writing of the proceeding kind, is forgery, felony and death by the law, without benefit of the clergy; and as lord Cambden and the late chancellor York, when they were attorneys and solicitor general, in their reports to his majesty, on the petition of the East India company, December 24, 1757; do assert, " that his majesty's subjects carry his laws with them, wherever they form colonies. I hope, his lordship will never attempt such actions in England, as he would finish the career of his honourable services, by the ignominious death which those do, who are guilty of forgeries and felonies. In Bengal indeed, his lordship's example has given even a legislative authority

thority to many iniquities that no men would dare to practise in this country with impunity.

But according to the evidence of Mr. Brereton, the admiral neither signed nor sealed the treaty, and refused the proposition of being signed by another; for he adds, he had too great a heart, and that before the admiral died, he had heard that his name was put to the treaty; that the secret committee had agreed to share the thirty lacks, stipulated for Omichund among themselves, and to exclude the admiral from his share, because he had not signed the treaty, and that he thought it dishonourable to deceive Omichund.

In order to accomplish that deceit, and pacify Omichund, it was also lately requisite that Meer Jaffier should sign the fictitious treaty as well as the real; and this he willingly performed for the preservation of himself and finally depended on the concealment of that treason in which he was then engaged. At the same time he was induced to it by the consideration that the real treaty was alone to be obligatory on him. But it seems his lordship and the select committee were not disposed to let the nabob, whom they had exalted, escape so easily, when the deposing and murder of Serajahli Dowlah were compleatly perpetrated. Omichund was indeed deprived by the real treaty of that reward, for his villanies, which was stipulated in the fictitious, and to give the thirty lacks to his lordship and his select committee, among whom, it seems they were honestly divided, as the remuneration of their honourable services. All this plunder, duplicity and perfidiousness, was thought warrantable on such occasions. Mr. Cooke, also secretary

cretary to the select committee in Bengal, at the time of this transaction, deposes in his evidence, that admiral Watson said "he had not signed the treaty, but left them to do as they pleased ; shrugging up his shoulders":

The two treaties, the real and fictitious, being thus signed and sealed, were transmitted to Mr. Watts, who had been three months employed in negotiating the revolution, and the final terms of the agreement between Meer Jassier, and that honest minister being settled, the army began their march in a few days, and then says his lordship, "when the army marched, Meer Jassier had promised, that he and his son would join them with a large force at Cutwa."

But when they arrived there, they saw no appearance of forces to join them, but received letters from Meer Jassier, that the nabob had suspected his designs, and made him swear on the Koran that he would not act against him, and therefore he could not give the promised assistance ; but that when they met Serajah Dowlah in the field, he would then act.

Omichund also had received letters from the nabob's camp, that the affair was discovered, and that Meer Jassier and the nabob were one.

Hence it appears that this villain, this rapacious Omichund, was nevertheless entertained in the camp, the faithful confidant of the general, who had contrived the means of rescinding him from what he as honestly deserved as his lordship, each of them being engaged in the same honourable cause, violating either their oaths, their treaty or their allegiance.

On this intelligence, his lordship allows, he was much puzzled, for he thought it extremely hazardous to pass a river, which is only fordable in one place ; march 150 miles up the country, and risk a battle ; when if a defeat ensued, not one man would have returned to tell it. It is easy to believe, he was in a very great puzzle on this occasion ; and indeed, he seemed not to have gotten clear of it at the moment of his giving this relation. Is there a man living, who shall read this passage, that can imagine that the nabob and his army were not a hundred and fifty miles from his lordship ? in complaisance to so distinguished a commander, I do not peremptorily pronounce, that this was not the truth : " and yet, his lordship says, " they crossed the river, marched all night in incessant rain, and the nabob attacked them early in the morning." Now does it not seem somewhat difficult to account how the army of the heaven-born general, or of the nabob, or of both together, could have marched so expeditiously, as to have met each other in the space of forty-eight hours ? I have heard of flying squadrons, but never till this time of flying armies. Perhaps his lordship, who had revolted from his solemn declaration, in the presence of God and his Saviour, was not a little puzzled on that occasion, as he may be at present, to conceive how Meer Jaffier could possibly imagine himself to be bound by an oath taken on the koran of that impostor Mahomet. Whatever might have been the cause, no doubt can be admitted of the truth of that which his lordship has said concerning his puzzlement. In this bewildered situation he called a council of war.

The questions he put were, "Whether they should cross the river and attack Serajah-Dowlah with their own force alone, or wait for further intelligence."

Sir Eyre Coote gives in evidence, "that his lordship, at the council of war told them, that Monsieur Law, with a body of French was within three days march of joining the nabob, whose army was 50,000 men ; and that he called them together for their opinion, whether in these circumstances, it would be prudent to come to an immediate engagement with the nabob ; or fortify themselves where they were, and remain till the monsoon was over, and the Morattah's could be brought into the country and join them. " As Sir Eyre Coote does not appear to be puzzled on this occasion, I chuse to prefer his evidence.

His lordship is pleased to say also, that every member gave their opinions against an attack, till they had received further intelligence, except the captains Coote and Grant. " But Sir Eyre Coote deposes, that the general and twelve others were against coming to an engagement, and that he and six more were for an immediate action." His lordship does indeed declare, that he made a mistake in his former evidence respecting the members of his council of war, who voted for an immediate attack of the nabob ; but, that he was led into this mistake from not having consulted a single record from that time to this. Many are the reasons which may arise in the minds, of men, why this noble lord has not looked into these records. For who chooses to look into a charnel house filled with the bones of men whom he has put to death. He

knew

object that could be rationally pursued ; an immediate engagement. And yet his lordship was greatly puzzled, and agrees with Sir Eyre Coote, that any other thing would have been the ruin of the East-India company ; nevertheless, against this sole preservative, the heaven-born general voted.

Is it not strange therefore, that he values his discernment, as he does in saying, " that if he had abided by that council, it would have been the ruin of the East-India company ? " to whom then is the preservation of it due ? to his lordship and those who united in opinion with him, or to Sir Eyre Coote and officers who voted for an immediate engagement ? not to his lordship, whose opinion was confessedly such, as must have ruined his masters, and against which he himself determined to give battle. Sir Eyre Coote says, in about an hour after the council broke up, his lordship informed him unasked, that notwithstanding the resolution of the council of war, he intended to march next morning, and accordingly, gave orders for the army to hold themselves in readiness ; but his lordship is of another opinion, and declares, after about twenty four hours of mature consideration, he took upon himself to break through the opinion of the council of war, and ordered the army to cross the river.

Had my lord been content with the relation of Sir Eyre Coote, that he determined on an immediate engagement in about an hour after the council broke up, the world might have then thought he had been either, of the contrary opinion in council, with a view to hear that of others, and to conceal his own ; or that convinced by the reasons,

sions; which had been conveyed in the arguments of Sir Eyre Coote, he had military knowledge sufficient to discern the self evident truth; that the only thing which could preserve on the company from ruin was the sole object that could be pursued; but his lordship took twenty four hours mature consideration, to determine on this affair, on which an earth-born general would never have convened a council of war to debate, or have retarded a moment from carrying it into execution.

On the 22d of June, says his lordship, the army crossed the river, marched all night amidst incessant rains, until they reached Plassey grove, and early in the morning they were attacked by Serajah Dowlah in that situation. As the battle had already been given, in part by Sir Eyre Coote, he should only observe, that its being attended with so little bloodshed, arose from two causes; first, the army was sheltered by so high a bank, that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not possibly do them much mischief. This advantageous situation was, however of necessity taken, under the auspicious guidance of the night, because the army marched all night, and was attacked the next morning; thus on a former occasion, the heaven-born general was assisted by a fog, in this he was preserved by darkness; by the former he escaped through the enemy's army almost undiscovered; by the latter he was led to a station in which he was secured from their heavy artillery by a bank. I humbly presume that this situation being not of his lordship's choice, is another proof of his being favoured by the place of his nativity; and with what admirable propriety,

ety, he is distinguished by the exalted name of the heaven-born general.

As his lordship is pleased to acquiesce with Sir Eyre Coote's account, I must apply thereto, in order to shew that the generalship of this day, is not to be equalled by all the acts of other magnanimous commanders; as it is demonstratively to be evinced by the records of all these illustrious writers, who have transmitted their achievements to posterity.

The description of this battle unhappily is not in the reports: this omission I imagine, could have proceeded from no other cause, than that some of the select committee invidious of that exemplary and superior skill in war, which his lordship manifested on this occasion, ignobly, chose to secrete it from the admiration of the world, to cover the glories of the heaven-born general in oblivion, and to prevent all succeeding commanders from profiting by this magnificent lesson on future enterprizes. From what other motive could it have arisen but from envy? surely neither Mr. Strachey, his lordship's secretary and penman, nor any other of his friends, could have joined in the malicious design of concealing the glorious transactions of that well fought and bloody field; since from the deathless honours, of that day, his lordship has taken his illustrious title, of Baron of Plassey.

From Sir Eyre Coote's evidence, the following description of that glorious battle, was published, in the minutes of the select committee

"Our army had now arrived at Plassey Grove in the morning; the nabob's army appeared at the distance

distance of five miles, marching round us towards the right, with a numerous train of artillery : the cannon being mounted on bundles of bamboos tied together, and each piece drawn by twenty or thirty pairs of oxen ; while the troops, elephants, and camels richly cloathed, caparisoned, appeared through the train ; so that the sight, to an undiscerning mind, really seemed formidable. At the same time, every circumstance to a judicious understanding, proved their weakness.

At six in the morning, the cannonading began on both sides. Our army was then ordered into a line of battle before the grove. We remained in that position motionless, and exposed to the enemy's fire till eleven. When having lost a few men, Lord Clive retired to Plassey house, and ordered the troops to follow under cover of the wood. In the midst of this confusion and uncertainty, the colonel called a council of war. But when the officers arrived at the house appointed, he had nothing to propose. "In this place, I cannot but remark, with what immense judgment the general kept his army motionless, and exposed to the enemy's fire for five whole hours, in order to ascertain, by that experiment, whether their valour was 'as passive as he knew it' was active. I am apt to coincide with the evidence of Sir Eyre Coote, in this particular of his lordship having nothing to propose. For it plainly appears, from his relation of what passed in the former council of war, compared with what Sir Eyre says, and from what is confessed by my lord himself, that he was in a great puzzle at that time. And this

is undoubtedly an ample apology for the defective-
ness of his memory, on this memorable occasion.
In the middle, of his perplexity ; he has un-
signedly, to be sure, forgotten all that Sir Eyre
Coote remembers and relates, and which does
him such signal honour as a military commander.
In this situation, when his lordship had nothing
to propose in council. What do you conceive was
then done, by the officers whom he had called to-
gether to consult upon nothing all ? Why really,
they seperated, and each returned to the place
from whence he came.

His lordship however, who seems ambitious to
follow the precedents of princes, immediately re-
solves to imitate that of prince Prettyman in the
rehearsal. For being much fatigued both in body
and mind, he is so surprised with sleep he cannot
speak a word. For Sir Eyre Coote, an eye wit-
ness, assures us, the general lay down to take a
little rest. This I am bold to assert, is the first
instance of all the heroic deeds of war and chival-
try, that ever a general went to bed in the middle
of the uncertainty, and confusion of an engage-
ment.

As far as I can recollect, not one of the Roman
generals has ever shewn such supreme tranquillity,
as to be able to sleep in the middle of a battle, or
to call a council of war, and to have nothing to
propose. These illustrious acts were reserved for
the Asiatic general, Great Britain has produced. No
instance exists on record of any one of the ancient
and heroic chiefs, who had reached the sublime
attainment of composing himself to sleep in the
very middle of such confusion ; and it is imposs-
ible

ble he can merit to be named in comparison with my lord, in the exalted view of a sleeping general. For in those remote days, drums, guns and cannon were unknown. To have slept therefore in the middle of such a paltry confusion, as could have arisen without these instruments of war, can include no more genius or heroism, than taking a nap next door to a brazier's shop. Whereas, his lordship most tranquilly resigned himself to the embraces of sleep in the middle of the drumming, firing, and cannonading of both armies.

This I humbly believe an instance of such magnanimity, as is not to be paralleled in past transactions, nor to be expected in future. Sir Eyre Coote continues. In the mean while, some of our cannon balls having killed the elephant on which Serajah Dowlah's head general, Meer Modur rode; this officer was killed by the fall of the animal, and we having killed and wounded many of the oxen who drew the artillery, the rest were thereby impeded; so that the enemy's army, from both accidents, were thrown in the greatest confusion. We are now happy in being able to shew the superiority of his lordship's military success to that of an officer, who is of no small renown in modern history.

The great personage I mean, is the celebrated Major Sturgeon. That renowned warrior in his attack on the gibbet of Onslow Heath, had the misfortune to be engaged and defeated by a drove of oxen. His lordship had the glory to defeat not only the oxen, but one elephant also: which elephant slew the chief general of that army, and thereby it defeated the enemy. And yet to do

the major justice, the disaster of that ill fated day at Onslow, may be ascribed to his not being asleep at that time ; as he probably never had heard that in all engagements with oxen, in order to obtain a complete victory, it is indispensably requisite that the commander in chief be fast asleep, as his lordship was at the amazing battle of Plassey.

Sir Eyre Coote continues, " from thence they began to retreat, which was still more difficult, from the death of the said oxen, and the unwieldy carriages, or rather contrivances, on which the cannon were placed. Had his lordship been master of the butcher's company, and his army consisted entirely of gentlemen of the same trade, it is scarce credible they could have proved more fatal to the oxen : " In the mean while it was observed, that some troops who had occupied a rising ground in the front, were retreating : and that a few French Europeans who had taken possession of a tank, were likewise going off. Major Kilpatrick, by the advice of captain Grant, immediately ordered a body of men to march and seize upon their posts :" And now the danger being over, and the battle won, it was thought high time to wake the placid general : " And Mr. Marriott was sent to call his lordship, who instantly returned to the field and sent some sharp messages to major Kilpatrick for offering to act when he was asleep without his orders." Now the major being an Irishman, it never came into his head that his lordship could give orders in his sleep ; or, as he was gone to sleep, that he ever intended to give orders at all. On this account, he thought it his duty to take every advantage to defeat the enemy, and preserve them-

themselves, during the sweet slumber of the command in chief. This it seems was considered by his lordship as a breach of military duty; but the major had better luck than Sir Robert Fletcher: he was neither tried nor dismissed the service by a court-martial; as it happened to the latter, from keeping the common soldiers from a mutiny, and thereby the general from being put to death.

However the battle being won "his lordship perceiving the situation of the enemy, ordered captain Coote immediately to march into the intrenchments, which he entered without much opposition. The rout in the nabob's army was now become general, excepting a large body of horse, which was coming seemingly to surround us, in a regular formidable manner. The artillery were turned against them, which dispersed some and stopt the rest. But after several signals and messages, this proved to be Meer Jaffier, who was in fact coming to join us." And thus the general, who had been asleep whilst his foes were killing, was determined to make ample amends when he was awake, by his activity in firing upon his confederates. "In this memorable battle," continues Sir Eyre Coote, "we had the misfortune to lose three Europeans, and twenty-six seapoys killed; and five Europeans and forty seapoys wounded: besides oxen and elephans, the enemy must have lost above two hundred souls." Thus ended the famous battle of Plassey, in which the hair-breadth escapes and imminent points of danger, the immense exhibition, and somniferous powers obtained for this triumphant hero, the honourable title of ~~ba~~on of Plassey. And in this place we cannot but

but remark with astonishment, what a singular favour of heaven this conspicuous general must be. Near Calcutta, he and his army were almost miraculously preserved by a fog, which the gazette denominated a victory. In the night at Plassey-Grove, he was accommodated with the most advantageous situation, which defended his troops from the fire of the enemy's artillery, and in his sleep he was not only secured from danger, but was presented with a victory, and I hope when lord B shall have sufficiently weighed the heroic deeds and consummate skill in military matters, that were performed by the means of fogs and night, under lord Clive's auspices, and that he defeated an army of 50 000 men, besides camels, elephants and most horrible oxen, with forces consisting of no more than 1000 Europeans, and 2000 seapoys, together with the astonishing art of falling fast asleep in the middle of a battle, that he will no longer persist in saying, "This nation doth not possess a general who is fit to be commander in chief."

Mr. West the celebrated historical painter, who has painted his lordship's battles and achievements, in order to adorn his palace at Clermont, and to deliver them with becoming glory down to the ravished eyes of his wondering successors, with humble submission, these unrivalled artists might have imitated the celebrated painter Timanthes, who in delineating the sacrifice of Iphigenie, having exhausted his powers of expressing grief, in the countenances of those friends and relations who were present, concealed the face of Agamemnon in his drapery. By these he meant to signify

signify, that the father's affection being inexpressible, he took this method of conveying the excess of it to the spectators. According to this idea, he would have entirely covered the battle of Calcutta, with the representation of that fog, which so propitiously protected my lord and all his host from the Nabob's forces; it being otherwise impossible to do justice to the general, and the glory of that unequalled day; at the same time it would have plainly pronounced in how eminent a degree the general was favoured by the place of his nativity. This method of delineating that battle, would have saved him a world of study in composition, drawing and colouring; and then he might have wrote under it, this is the battle of Calcutta: The motto to this conquest at Calcutta, might have been inscribed, *Dedit victoriam nebula.* As to that of Plassey, it has been already allegorically designed, with most admirable propriety and happiness of invention, near the scene of action, on a wall in Plassey house. In this sublime design, the heaven-born general was represented fast asleep on his back, in his Pallanquin; with his mouth wide open; and fortune in that posture, in which the nicest and most exalted ladies, must on some occasion, condescend to place themselves, was beneficially dropping into the mouth of her distinguished favourite; from that part to which fame applies her posterior trumpet, riches, titles, ribbands, and honours.

We must return to the ghastly field of battle, deeply ensanguined with the blood of oxen: Seirajah Dowlah, deserted by Meer Jaffier and his horse, and finding as his lordship tells us, as a feigned

feigned reason for so few being slain ;" that his army did not do their duty, and that no confidence was to be placed in them, flew to the city, (and for the sake of expedition on an elephant) which he reached that night, thirty miles from the field of battle : The troops pursued the routed army about nine miles, and in the evening, Meer Jaffier sent him word, that he and many more of the great officers, and a very considerable part of the army, were in expectation of his orders : " His lordship sent his trusty Watts and Srafton to wait upon him " Meer Jaffier came the next morning accompanied with his son, made many apologies to him for the non-performance of his agreement to join him, and said his fate was in his hands." His lordship assured Meer Jaffier, that the English would most religiously perform their treaty, advised him to pursue Sérajah Dowlah without delay, and said, that he would follow with the English army.

As Meer Jaffier could not but be convinced how religiously his lordship had observed the treaty with Serajah Dowlah, concluded and sworn to in the presence of God and his Saviour; how promptly he had conspired with him, to a revolt, to dethrone his sovereign, and the ally of the English, who had neither evaded, nor refracted one article which it contained ; it was impossible for him either to suspect or not to place an entire confidence in the honour and religion of his lordship.

The defeated nabob, says his lordship, being arrived at Muxadivad, had recourse to his treasure, with which his palace was filled, employed himself

self in lavishing it among the troops, to engage them to another battle, but to no purpose, for he could not purchase their confidence.

About twelve at night, the fatal news was brought him, that Meer Jaffier was arrived in the city, closely followed by the English army? Betrayed by his allies, rebelled against by his subjects, and deserted by his troops, this unhappy prince was at length reduced to flee from his capital, and singly seek an asylum for life alone.

The English army being encamped, his lordship sent Messrs Witts and Walsh to congratulate Meer Jaffier on his success, who had done nothing at all, and know the time when he should enter the city. In consequence of this, the day was fixed, and he entered that city, at the head of two hundred Europeans and six hundred seapoys.

In regard to the fate of Serajah, his lordship said, "He had been informed, that he fled, and took shelter in a Faakier's house, whose nose and ears he had cut off upon a former occasion. That there was a brother of Meer Jaffier at Rasamere (a small distance from the place where he took a refuge) that this Faakier sent immediate notice to him, that he had Serajah Dowlah in his house, and he should keep him till he could send him that the nabob's brother immediately set out with a few attendants, and seized him, and that he was brought from thence to the city, and immediately put to death by Meerham, Meer Jaffier's son, it is said, without the father's knowledge, that his lordship knew nothing of it, till the next day, when the nabob made him acquainted with it, and apologi-

Apologised for his conduct, by saying, that he had raised a mutiny among his troops. ' And this was all his lordship knew of the matter.' That is all that he chose to reveal concerning this detestable deed.

The reports from the select and secret committee, appointed by the house of commons, will throw a new light upon divers transactions of his lordship and other servants of the company, which we flatter ourselves to exhibit to the general satisfaction of our readers.

The translation of the following letter, sent by his highness the nabob to the company, March the 15th, 1773, will shew what opinion the princes of the country entertain of the rulers of their factories, of their divisions, and their maxims of government.

The nabob of exalted dignity, Omrah of Hindostan, pillar of the kingdom, lamp of the state; light of the faith, the magnanimous prince, victorious in war, chief of armies, subahdar of Arcot and the Carnatic.

To the honourable court of directors for affairs of the united company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

Honourable.

" By your letter of the 25th of March 1772, which I had the happiness of receiving from the governor and council of Fort St. George, the 26th of October last, I was pleased to find that you had received my letters of the 26th of March and 20th July 1771, as they would inform you of many things relative to my situation; yet as I find there

there are still many things necessary to be explained to you, I have thought proper to trouble you with this letter ; this I meant to have sent by the last ship, but I was made so unhappy by the divisions and disagreements between your servants, whom I could have wished to reconcile, as such quarrels among the members of your government affect my interest nearly as well as your's ; therefore I wish for a more fortunate hour to transmit my best wishes to my friends ; and although my endeavours to bring about a reconciliation was without effect ; yet as I now have the satisfaction to intrust my letter to colonel Archibald Campbell, who is a man of honour and integrity ; I look upon it as a happy omen and a fore-runner of good fortune.

It makes me extremely happy that you are pleased with my declarations of firm friendship, and that the testimonies which I have given you of my invariable attachment to your interests are satisfactory. The confidence you have in my good faith and honourable principles gives me the greatest joy, and your attachment which you express for my person, family and government, of which your orders to continue the renting of the jaghier to me, and your ready acquiescing in my holding the uninterrupted administration of justice within my districts, are evident proofs ; these makes me so happy that I want words to express to you, how much I find my friendship increase to the company.

In all these acts of kindness and demonstrations of friendship, I can see the hand-writing of my friends with whom I have been so intimately connected

connected for these thirty years, and whose interests are so blended with mine, that there can be no difference between us : how different, how greatly different are these testimonies of your regard, and the conduct of the servants, through whose hands the company's affairs have passed to me for these several years past , of these you must no doubt be acquainted from the writings which have been sent to you, particularly by the ship of last year. These have made me very unhappy, and as I am conscious of the warmest friendship for the company, it hurts me to the last degree to think that your servants should, unknown to me, endeavour to give you unfavourable ideas of my attachment to you ; I therefore resolved to write to your governor and council, requiring to know if they had written against me , and if they have, what they have said, that I might have an opportunity of giving you and them evident proofs of my friendship, by exposing the villainy of those who have by such false representations endeavoured to sow dissension between you and me; but in their answer which I have received they do not think proper to give me any satisfaction on this subject, therefore I have thought it right to write this long letter to my best friends. Were it necessary to give proofs of my friendship for the company, I could instance every action of my life in evidence to the sincere attachment which I have always shewn to their interests ; but as I am on the spot, I can see much farther into the real motives of the words of the writings, and of the actions of your servants than you can do.

It was not a regard to your interest, which was the sole cause in beginning the war with the Irizan in 1765, and with Heyder afterwards. It was not for your interest, that the Mysirian war was conducted in such a shameful manner, which the whole history of that period evinces : The peace of 1767, had not your interest as the only motive of its being concluded, that never could be for your interest to enter into such strict connections with Heyder Ally, and to bid open defiance to so great and so powerful a nation as the Marattas, who sought your friendship, and who courted your alliance; nor could it be for your interest that your servants endeavoured to misrepresent me to you, or to persuade you, to take the renting of the company's jaghire lands from me: If all these things are against the real interest of the company, they are ten thousand times more against mine, and against the prosperity of my country and the happiness of my people; for your interest and mine are the same ; what were they owing to then ? to the private views of a few individuals, who have enriched themselves at the expence of your influence and of my country ; for your servants have no trade in this country, neither do you pay them high wages; yet in a few years they return to England with many lacks of pagodes ; how can you or I account for such immense fortunes acquired in so short a time, without any visible means of getting them ? I hinted at these matters in one of my former letters, which may in a great measure serve to account for my representation against some of your servants, and why some of them

them have written so unfavourably against me, you shall be judge between us

I agree with you that a speedy neutrality, if it can be preserved, is certainly the surest way to perpetuate peace, but if any thing said or written to you from them, have induced you to believe that I am in the smallest degree disinclined to maintain it, you are deceived, and you are imposed upon by the artful insinuations of others, it is my wish to maintain peace, and I have paid dearly for the tranquility which my country has enjoyed, amidst the jarring interests of my neighbours. But I have frequently recommended proper measures to your servants, and such as were dictated to me by sound policy, and they have always rejected my council, and refused to follow my advice.

Your interests are of a firm union among yourselves, between all your three presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, by such means as you may think proper to establish, you may depend upon my alliance and my country, and you should so arrange your country governments in Bengal, as to be able to call out the immense resources of that kingdom, which under proper management might easily be done. There you might command the respect of the greatest power in India, you could then be under no apprehensions of their growing greatness, and you might then embrace their friendship, when with the force of the three presidencies, and the powerful squadron of ships, which his most gracious Majesty has been pleased to send into this country, for the protection of his subjects and allies, you would

would have it in your power to check the progress of any power in India when you pleased.

This great power with whom your interests as well, as mine, are naturally connected is the Marrattas, and from whom great advantages might be had, if the management of such a negotiation were in proper hands, the Mahrattas united in firm friendship with the English and the Carnatic, no force, either European or Indian, could shake government in Hindostan. But you must have men of integrity to be your rulers, and the commanders of your armies, of good heads, and with honest hearts, who will not be led from their fidelity and duty, by the temptation of wealth and in the search of the acquisition of riches . but who will steadily adhere to the real interests of the company. I shall then have occasion to ask nothing, for if your affairs are well managed, mine must prosper.

The war with the rajah of Tanjour, does not seem so well understood in England, for I had been permitted to have sent only the Circar troops, under captain Matthews, into the Tanjour country in the month of February, 1771, when he was unprepared and unprovided with arms, ammunition, provision, and engineers , all which he received afterwards. The rajah might have been brought to reason with little expence to me, and almost without the loss of a man to the company. I knew nothing of the negotiations between the rajah of Tanjour, and your president, nor of what nature they might be , but I know that the delay of near eight months put it in the rajah's power to prepare himself in such a manner for his defence, while

while your army lay inactive, that it has cost me an immense sum of money, and many lives, both to me, and to the company, and at last from one cause or other, which it would not be easy to explain, a peculiar accommodation was agreed to in the room, of great advantages, both to the company, and to me, as I mentioned in my letter to your governor, of the 18th of September, 1771. Your late governor, and others, can best account for these negociations, and the causes of such delays. At this day, the rajah, by the dispositions he is making, seems determined to take advantage of the first opportunity to raise troubles in the Carnatic, which in case, of a war, particularly with the French, may from the vicinity of Pondicherry, be very prejudicial to your interest, and to mine.

The jagheer lands in my possession, yield you a greater revenue than any one else could afford to give, as the renters must maintain themselves out of their revenues, besides the high presents which they must give to your servants, and the high interest they are obliged to pay for money to answer the several kilis (or tributes) whilst I defray all these extraordinary expences out of the revenues of my country; and you will readily allow, I hope, that the severity of the prince of the country is better than that of individuals. My reason for being so anxious to have that continued to me, are to prevent the disturbances that would certainly happen between my subjects in those districts under my own direction, and those in the jagheir lands, about the boundaries, water-courses, manufactoryes, and other matters; and to prevent others

others from establishing an interest among your servants, which might be attended with fatal consequences to that harmony which so happily subsists between you and me.

The same reasons induced me to apply frequently to your late president, requesting to have the renting of the Nigampatam circar, because the lands of that circar are so intermixed with mine, that disputes constantly happen between the subjects of the two governments, and which it is impossible to prevent : this is greatly to the prejudice both of your interest and mine. I therefore proposed to give ten per cent. more than any one else should offer for these lands, but my suit was rejected ; I added, the company would do me a great favour by such a mark of friendship, yet I was refused, and told that the company was displeased with me. I think, as it could not be for your interests, you would not have refused me such a reasonable indulgence : I now apply to yourselves ; consider this matter well, and do me the kindness, through friendship, to send me a favourable answer. The company's small farms are no doubt let so cheap, that the renters might pay their rents regularly and get rich ; and also all the amudlers (or collectors of the revenue) who had formerly rented those lands under the company's servants, before they were granted as jaghier ; yet whence happens it, that all those people who have rented lands of the company, have been ~~removed~~^{runned} of this there are many proofs ; and had not I paid near two lacks of pagodas to redeem property absolutely purchased from the renters of the jaghier by your servants, all these people had been

been entirely ruined, and obliged to leave the country.

The hopes of improving your revenues by letting the jaghier to others are vain, and are only meant to answer other purposes. The transactions between the renters and others could not be so well known then as now, and then much more would probably go to the forming of separate interest than now; yet you must not think that all my disputes with your servants have been without foundation; disputes with the company I never had, for they have always expressed themselves in the most friendly terms to me; and no friendship can be stronger than mine has always been to them; but your wisdom should examine well, and you will then find under many spacious arguments, your servants have made you believe they were attentive to your interest only, when their own, private views were the real springs of action.

The northern circars should be a great object of your attention. I have no objection to your servants making princely fortunes, if it be your pleasure they should do so, provided my country and people do not suffer; but I am your friend, therefore I mention these matters; you should attend to the permanency of your interests in that country. You know my mind already about the 10 lacks of pagodas, which I call the Mysore demand. I shall not therefore, through friendship, say any thing more on the subject. I have paid part, and I hope, by the providence of God, in time of peace and tranquility, to discharge the whole in the time I have stipulated; but I acquaint you, that I have done this out of pure favour

favour and friendship for the company, that I might convince them my friendship is invariable, notwithstanding the endeavours and representations of my enemies.

God forbid I should ever distrust the company's honour, nor did I ever wish to invalidate any agreement made with the company; but it is the custom of every durbar, to get discharges regularly every year for all the former debts to the day of payment; this was my reason of requesting a discharge; and if I owe the company nothing, surely their honour cannot suffer by my asking, nor by their granting me, a discharge; but my debts formerly have accumulated in such a manner as I could not understand: The discharge therefore of my friends, would have been a testimony to my posterity, that I had fully answered all demands on me by the company; and when the Mysore money shall be paid, is it not reconcileable to your custom to grant a discharge? or even to do so now with that exception? it is with your servants I transact such business here, not with the company; think of this matter well, and give me a favourable answer.

Although I pay the expences of seven battalions of seapoys, who are under the company's orders, they never are suffered to be of the smallest use to me, yet I have willingly agreed to keep in them my pay to oblige the company, in hopes they will give such instructions to their servants, as to make them serviceable to the circar, and that I may have a right to advise their destination. Should a war happen in the Carnatic, which God forbid, not only three battalions of

seapoys shall be joined to the company, but my interest is to assist them with the whole force of my country. Were your forces properly employed, you have enough, when joined with mine, to make your name respectable in India ; but it, after all that I pay to the company my open and avowed enemy is to be encouraged, and those who are willing to be my friends shall be brought to threaten the Carnatic with an hostile invasion, on account of these impolitical connections of your servants : How do you think I am able to pay so much money for maintaining troops to defend my country, and yet in the day of danger I shall be obliged to purchase a peace, and to remove armies from my frontiers by other means ? I refer you to the transactions of last year for an explanation of this. I have already given my answer to your governor and council on the subject, and which they have, no doubt, sent to you for your information. I am best able to judge of the force which my revenues can maintain in this country, and what are necessary for its defence ; you will forgive me, if I take the liberty to judge in this for myself, I have many reasons for it ; you cannot be acquainted with the immense sums of money I have been obliged to pay, and by which my treasury has been exhausted. Were such regulations made as prudence and wisdom would direct, and were the force of the Carnatic, properly stationed and arranged, there is enough to give ample security against common occurrences, both to your possessions and mine. Give me men in whom I can confide, and who will suit their views to your real interests and mine, and I shall at all times be ready

to do every thing which shall appear proper and right for the mutual advantage of the company, and of the Carnatic.

I have represented the affair of justice to your servants here, but notwithstanding your orders, I have still been put to inconveniences on this account, so much so, that one of my immediate servants has been arrested at the gate of my durbar by your sheriff's officer, for I suppose I debt to a Frenchman, which this subject of France avowedly declares was contracted on account of the collection of my revenues, whilst my country was in the hands of our mutual enemy, should my friends in this manner assist my enemies against me? Was not the loss I sustained by the war enough? Must I, even now, have the happy days of peace interrupted by vexatious suits prosecuted by my enemies in your courts of justice? Are these the proofs of friendship? I cannot understand this, but I have made a treaty with Mr Law, dated the 25th of March 1765, by which in all such cases as any of my subjects give cause of complaint to any subjects of France, the appeal is to be made to my justice. What then have the mayor's court to do with such business? let your people enjoy the full freedom of their own laws, and let my subjects be judged by the customs of my country. If I, or any of my people have cause of complaint against any of the subjects of England, I will apply to your government for redress. Direct your servants to make their application to me in the same circumstances with respect to my people, and I will do them justice, then I can remain among my friends with security, and without receiving fresh affronts to my

my dignity every day. You are my friends, and I have always trusted to you, do me the favour to regulate these affairs in a better manner that my mind may be at ease.

My seapoys and your's have frequently been employed on the same service, they have often shared common fatigues and common dangers, yet from the evil disposition of some, disputes have arisen between the troops of the ciucar and of the company about the rank of officers. Consider this matter well, and give such directions as may settle such business, that the common service may not suffer by the like differences for the future.

You may depend on the firmness of my attachment to you, while the sun and moon endures; may the providence of God give you prosperity: What can I say more? the storm that had been a long while gathering on his lordship's head, now threatened no less than the ruin of his ill-gotten fortune and reputation.. He endeavoured to prevent the popular clamour and to stop the torrent of abuse by a pompous enumeration of his eminent services in divers letters inserted into all the vehicles of public intelligence.' The writers whom he had hired, used all the arts of sophistry to make an apology for his lordship's conduct in that period, wherein the revolution in Bengal had been brought about by his lordship and his creatures. They called him the triumphator of the East, and the only man who had rescued the company's affairs from utter ruin. They said, that when his lordship returned to England in 1755, the first time, the court of directors solicited him to go out again; that in consequence of his extraordinary merit and

amazing skill in the military profession, they obtained for him his majesty's commission of lieutenant-colonel, and appointed him deputy governor of Fort St. David, and to succeed to the government of Madras, and that before he went to his government, they solicited him to undertake an expedition of great importance ; the intent of which was to join the Marattas at Bombāy, and in conjunction with them to attack the French in the subah of Decan ; for which he carried out three companies of the king's artillery, and four hundred of the king's troops. That when he arrived at Bombay, in beginning of the year 1756, a truce between the two nations, having prevented him to act offensively against the French, his warlike spirit suggested that these troops should not lie idle, and that his lordship hid the plan of taking the strong fort of Gurrah, possessed by a piratical prince, who upon all occasions had very much distressed the company. That although he commanded the land forces in this successful enterprise, by virtue of his rank ; he shired only the prize-money amounting to 150,000l. as a captain of a man of war. That Admiral Warton thought his case so hard, that he very generously offered to make his share equal to Sir George Pocock's ; that his lordship thought himself as much obliged to him for the offer, as if he had accepted it, but that he generously declined it. That in his deputy government of St. David, he gave universal satisfaction to the company and the natives. That when he was called from thence to Madras, on the news of the capture of Calcutta, it was long debated in council what force should be sent to retake

it, and who should command that expedition, that it was decided in his favour, and the will of every officer that he should go upon that expedition. They further added, that his lordship was sent from Madras with a power independent of the governor and council of Calcutta, that he commanded in Bengal both as the king and the company's officer, that the governor and council of Madras looked at that period, on the government of Bengal as annihilated, which was revived by the success of his army with additional splendor and dominion. They observed, that when his lordship received presents from the country powers, there were no covenants existing, the company's servants were at liberty to receive them, that they were the price of his services to the nation and to the company. That the company had acquired a million and half sterling, and a revenue of near 100,000 per annum, from the success of their forces under his lordship's command at that early period, that his lordship had devoted himself entirely to the company's military service, and neglected all commercial advantages, that, after having risked his life so often in their service, no judicious man could condemn him for having profited of the only honourable opportunity that ever offered of acquiring a fortune without prejudice to the company. That their interest and the honour of his country, were the principles that governed all his actions, that had he only taken the advantageous opportunities that presented themselves, by his lordship being commander in chief, and at the head of a victorious army, and what by the custom of that country he was entitled to, the jagmier himself,

self great as it was, would have been an object scarce worth his consideration.

The evidence of lord Clive before the select committee of the house of commons, coincided exactly with this previous justification of his lordship's transactions. As we cannot afterwards cut the thread of this most important parliamentary inquiry, we shall submit here to public inspection, the conclusion of his lordship's military regulations with the ever memorable campaign of brigadier general Smith.

We have already mentioned in the second volume of this work, the number of troops which his lordship had placed on the Bengal establishment, immediately after the conclusion of the treaty with Sujah al Dowlah, and without entering into a minute calculation of the extraordinary sums not only incurred but injudiciously intailed upon the company by this unjustifiable step, it will be sufficient to enumerate to the standing forces which conquered the most formidable armies, that ever were in the Bengal provinces, and to draw a comparison between them and the present establishment this will shew the augmentation to have been ill timed and unnecessary.

Colonel Munro had eight battalions of seapoys at the battle of Buxar, his whole army including Europeans did not exceed eight thousand men, who defeated the combined armies of Sujah al Dowlah and Cossim Ally Cawn, with the finest train of artillery that any Asiatic army could ever boast of, besides Sujah al Dowlah had the name of being the greatest warrior in this part of the globe, and none of the Eastern princes did excel Cossim

in the cabinet. These two circumstances added to the superiority of number, might indeed have deterred any other commander from engaging with a handful of men ; the nabob, vizier and his ally, who had jointly the reputation of having heads to plan and to execute ; but the wonder must increase, after the brave and skilful colonel had baffled all the warlike measures of these two ambitious and renowned adversaries, and disconcerted by a single overthrow all their schemes in the field, and evinced the futility of their councils.

Major Adams that gallant and experienced officer, whose death was a public loss, had not under his command above four thousand men, when he beat Cossim Ally Cawn at Gurriah, forced his entrenchments at Wooden Nullah, drove him from post to post, and at last entirely out of the Bengal provinces, when he was obliged to seek for protection in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah.

If these armies who had conquered two principalities, could keep possession of one of them, one should naturally suppose that the same number of forces was sufficient to defend and secure it, when confirmed to the company, by the emperor Shah Allum, whose right of territorial superiority they had acknowledged, and whose indisputable sanction they had endeavoured to establish ; especially as there were no other warlike princes in Hindostan, who aspired at sovereignty ; no turbulent nobles who aimed at independence ; no neighbouring princes able to support an injured prince.

When his lordship formed the troops into brigades, he should have saved to the company all superfluous expences, according to the express injunction

junction of the court of directors ; but to have recourse to theaultry expedient of reducing the pay of approved veterans in the field, who had signalized themselves in the company's service, and made the inestimable acquisition of a most opulent kingdom, at the risk of their lives, and with the certainty of impairing their constitution in that un-salubrious climate, was a most unjust and impolitical reformation. The court of directors were not apprized of the value of their conquests, otherwise we could not account for their approbation of such an ill-judged scheme, as instead of rewarding their military servants, it inflicted a real punishment for their eminent and acknowledged services. Those who had no other motives but honour, resigned their commissions in consequence of this discouraging regulation, were greatly to be commended, as they shewed a proper spirit of resentment to their ungrateful masters.

It appears very evident, that twelve battalions of seapoys were at this juncture more than sufficient to protect from any hostile attack this new commercial empire, as the number of Europeans had been of late greatly increased. They never had more than eight battalions in times of war and danger ; these had been an over-match for great armies in divers engagements. Besides these, additional forces might have been easily raised when necessity should have required it, which was not the case, as the company had forced their vanquished enemies to accept the terms of peace, which they had thought proper to prescribe. The expences of nine battalions of seapoys should have been saved by a judicious economy ; each bat-

lion costs the company no less than 1500 pounds per month, which amounts to 162,000 pounds per annum. for the pay and subsistence of nine. The pitiful expedient of depriving the officers of the batta, was a saving of twenty thousand pounds per annum. at the most, allowing the full compliment of the officers to the advanced establishment; this was a mere trifle productive of great discontents and inconveniences, of which however his lordship with his usual presumption, made a great merit in his pompous details of the pretended abuses which he had reformed. Had these nine useless battalions been never thought of, there would have been to this day a saving to the company of one million four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, after a deduction of two hundred thousand pounds, for continuing the benefit of the batta to all the officers to this time. His lordship raised some battalions which went under the name of Purgannah seapoys; they were to enforce the payment of the revenues, and did in fact no other service than to oppress and terrify the distressed natives. Mr. Verelst his lordship's successor, paid so little regard to the company's interest, that in his government the army at one time consisted of no less than thirty two battalions in profound peace, which coincided with his lordship's declaration, that Bengal was a military government, that is according to the noble lord and his worthy successor's maxims; a formidable standing army was kept at an enormous expence, to carry into execution the most nefarious acts of injustice and oppression of these two matchless presidents. Mr. Boulton late chairman of the East-India directors, hated the very name.

name of Mr. Verelst ; he used to say, "that this gentleman had done more prejudice to the company, than all the bad servants they ever had put together." I think however he ought to have excepted his lordship.

The noble president issued out his mandates in the following remarkable terms

1. Pursuant to repeated orders received from the honourable court of directors, *We have resolved to embrace the present favourable opportunity, which the tranquility of the country affords to reduce the enormous military charges of the presidency*; and to carry into strict execution a measure indispensable and necessary, if we will maintain the number of forces requisite for the security and preservation of the company's possessions.

2. You are accordingly hereby enjoined to acquaint all the officers under your command, that they are henceforward to expect no benefit from perquisites of any kind, but to rely entirely on their pay, together with such allowances as will hereafter be specified.

3. We shall ever pay particular regard to merit; but the officers in general are to expect the reward of their services after they have risen to the rank of majors, it being our intention to continue to all the field officers every advantage they enjoy at present.

4. You are also further to give notice that after the first day of January next, the whole batta will be struck off, and the pay reduced to what it formerly was on this establishment, and is at this time allowed to the company's troops on the Coromandel coast.

5. Considering however the distance from the presidency, and the unavoidable expence incurred by the officers in transporting liquors and other necessaries. We do consent that those stationed at Mongheer and Patna shall still receive half batta.

6. The particulars of which you find stated in the annexed account, which batta they are not to regard as a matter of right, but an indulgence that must stand in lieu of all allowances for boats, &c. and it is our desire that the soldiers stationed at the above places shall each receive two drams per diem.

7. We likewise agree as a future encouragement, and to remove those difficulties, which usually arise in issuing the pay on account of the frequent scarcity of Arcot rupees, that all the company's troops shall in future receive Sunnut instead of Arcot rupees, but should the army or any particular detachment be employed out of the limits of the provinces, then it is our intention to make such an addition to their batta as may be thought reasonable.

8. We make an additional allowance of forty rupees per diem to the colonel, which allowance is to be enjoyed in his absence by the field officers who shall command for the time being, and as a further proof of that attention, we shall always pay to the ease and convenience of those gentlemen who act in superior stations. We consent that field-officers commanding detachments, shall be allowed the batta, as the officer immediately above him, which indulgence is not by any means to extend below the rank of a major.

9. We positively direct that the pay-master shall in future disburse, not only the pay of the officers and soldiers, but of cooleys and servants of every denomination, employed by the company on account of the army, and that he also pay all bills and other charges contracted on account of the brigade, after such are duly counter-signed by the commanding officer and not before.

Statement of batta to be allowed to the officers, &c.
cantonned at Mongheer and Patna.

| Viz. | | Sunnut Rupees, |
|-------------------------------------|---|----------------|
| Colonel | - | 25 |
| Lieutenant Colonel | - | 20 |
| Major | - | 15 |
| Captain | - | 6 |
| Lieutenant | - | 4 |
| Ensigns and lieutenant fire-workers | - | 3 |
| Chaplain | - | 6 |
| Surgeon | - | 6 |
| Afflant | - | 4 |
| Commissary | - | 6 |
| Judge Advocate | - | 6 |
| Aid de Camp | - | 6 |
| Interpreter | - | 6 |
| Volunteers | - | 2 |

N. B. Only half of the above allowance was issued to the subaltern officers at Mongheer, and the whole when they were in the field upon actual service.

Thus his lordship boasted of having reduced by this little mean shift, the enormous military charges of the presidency; as we are not exactly informed of the particular time that the Pergunnah

Scapoys were raised, we cannot fix the account of this accumulated expence; but if a calculation were made, it would appear that the company might have saved for those ten years past, upwards of three millions, the interest of which sum would have more than fully answered the charges of the officers batta. No sooner had the different brigades arrived at their cantonments, and his lordship's train of field officers from Europe joined their respective detachments. That the above-mentioned orders were read by the authority, and with the advice of the right honourable president and gentlemen of the secret committee at Fort William, to the commanding officers of the different Brigades. They produced nothing but universal murmurs, discontents, and resignations from several experienced officers, who were treated like rebels and deserters, and punished like felons.

This order was delivered out by the commanding officers of Brigades, in the manner it was sent to them, except by colonel Smith, who chose to suppress the greatest part of it for particular purposes, which will appear in the account of his campaign:

That part which the colonel issued out began at No. 1; ended at 2; resumed the order at 3, with the conjunction; and ended it at 4, with the signatures of Clive, William Sumner, J. Cairnac, Henry Verelst. The colonel then added the following clause of his own authority, December 23, 1765.

" The colonel thinks it unnecessary at present
 " to specify the allowance mentioned in the fore-
 " going orders since the committee has been so,
 " indulgent to the officers of the second brigade
 " as

as to continue the double batta to those actually on service in the field, and half of that batta to those in garrison, whilst the brigade is employed out of the provinces."

We shall not at present animadvert upon the colonel's evasion; we only beg leave to observe, that it would have been more becoming a commanding officer, to have acted with more candour, and informed his officers of the whole of the committee's orders, that they might the better be able to judge whether they could remain in the company's service or give it up, according to the dictates of honour, and the justice they owed to themselves. As this order of the committee was a notorious injury to men who could support no longer the character of their honourable profession, it occasioned spirited remonstrances from the subaltern officers of the different brigades, to the governor and council; but no regard whatever was paid to their just representations: and it was after they had given up all hopes of redress, that those injured gentlemen resolved to quit a service inadequate to their station.

A proof that these distressed subalterns did not complain from a spirit of licentiousness and mutiny, is the opinion which Sir Robert Barker transmitted to his lordship, in answer to one which he had received from the noble president; an extract of which we shall insert first.

From Lord Clive to Sir Robert Barker.

"I am very glad the officers have been so prudent as to lay aside their intention of presenting a memorial: I can assure you, there has been no memorial presented from the other brigades on the like subject. It is true, the governor and council have received

received a remonstrance from the officers of colonel Smith's brigade, setting forth, the dearness of provisions, and all other necessaries, at that great distance ; and we have in consequence of its being only a temporary expence to the company, agreed to let things remain on the present footing, until the brigade be withdrawn from Sujah Dowlah's dominions ; but the officers are at the same time informed in the most positive terms, that this indulgence will cease the instant the troops leave the Carimanassa. I need not repeat how positive and absolute the company's orders from Europe are, about reducing the military expences to the proportion of the establishment on the coast of Coromandel ; nay, even less, because they imagine the price of provisions is lower, and I believe you are not unacquainted, that the officers for the first year they served in Bengal were all satisfied with single batta ; the double batta was merely an indulgence obtained by me, and came immedately out of the nabob's pocket. One would imagine the officers would be satisfied with their present appointments; since they have a greater advantage in prospect than they ever enjoyed before. (which his lordship means by a greater advantage in prospect, is the military fund for disabled officers) Add to this, the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa belong to the company themselves, and not to the nabob ; that what is now paid came immedately out of their pockets : and although the officers may plead prescriptions from the nabob, they can shew no such prescriptions from the company. I may indeed assure you, that the committee are resolutely determined upon carrying the company's orders into execution ; and enforcing the new regulations &c "

*Extract of a Letter from Colonel Sir Robert Barker
to the Right Hon. Lord Clive.*

" My Lord,

" Having made an examination into the officer's field expences, in which I have adhered as much as possible to frugality and œconomy, and according to the regular prices of servants wages and Mr. Moody's charge of things, and his lordship's monopolist in regard to the officers necessaries, none being allowed to carry any thing to the brigade but him. I cannot well reduce the captain's monthly expences in the field to less than 324 rupees, and if he keeps a palanquin to 372 : now his pay and batta amount to 300 rupees. In the estimate I have made no allowance for his cloathing, linen, purchase of stores, palanquin, sadlery, camp furniture, &c. Supposing his off-reckonings to answer their annual expences, 300 rupees on the coast of Coromandel will furnish a captain with his necessaries and carriage, but the constitution of this country is so much more prone to luxury and extravagance than on the coast, that the same quantity of provisions, and the same method of œconomy practised there, cannot be carried here at the same expence ; the very commodities used by the military gentlemen are increased thirty or forty per cent. between the Madras and Bengal markets ; the cooleys carry one third less, and the servants, not to compare the difference between the officers serving without the provinces and those within, is but little more than the additional charge of Mr. Moody's goods ; for suppose him to supply every

thing for seven or eight per cent. the difference of batti is 100. Every officer who takes the field for a campaign, must carry with him thirty days supply, especially where horse are flying about the country, and few will carry more either with or without the provinces, the number of servants and their wages nearly the same.

(Signed) ROBERT BARKER "

The court of directors were afterwards made so sensible of the injustice done to their officers, that the very next year they augmented their pay.

The committee, in their ordets, acknowledged that Bengal at this time was in a state of perfect tranquility, without internal or external foes to disturb the peace of the provinces, his lordship, therefore, had an extensive field to display his abilities as a financier, without apprehension of a war that might disconcert his plan of œconomy, how far the noble president and his successor made that rich and glorious acquisition answer the purpose of possessing it, is best judged of from the very low ebb to which the company was soon reduced, had not government interferred in time, they might have been totally ruined, and after having been the sovereigns and monopolizers of the east, shewn by their bankruptcy, that they wanted even sagacity to direct their mercantile affairs.

Yet these are the men who have been supported in their iniquitous schemes of oppression and villainy by unprincipled directors, who have even attempted to justify such acts of enormous injustice and

and tyranny towards their fellow subjects, as would disgrace the annals of the Turkish empire.

In regard to the system of his lordship's civil government, it was simple and uniform, yet chiefly consisted in turning every article of use and necessity into a monopoly. As a farther proof of the attention of the noble president and his committee, to the ease and convenience of military gentlemen who acted in superior stations, his lordship enacted, that each field officer, according to his rank, should pay his quota to a committee appointed to carry on the business of the sole monopoly, and at the end of the year he received his share of the odious taxation, even the common necessities which are brought from Europe, and without which no European can subsist, were monopolized by Mr. Moody, one of his lordship's chief agents; his noble patron granted to him the exclusive privilege of purchasing European commodities, and selling them at his own price to the different brigades; thereby many industrious families were deprived of all manner of subsistence, and they had no other resource to live but to purchase from the ships of Europe goods and provisions, which they retailed afterwards for the consideration of a small profit to the army, and to the natives up the country.

This was in particular a great hardship upon the subaltern officers, whose pay was not only reduced, but were even prevented to lay it out to the best advantage in purchasing European articles at the cheapest rate, since, by the sordid knavery of monopolizers, callous to all humane feelings, the necessities of life were greatly enhanced.

Having

Having taken a retrospect of Lord Clive's regulations, we shall, according to our engagements to the public, introduce here the campaign of another Asiatic commander, whose designs seemed to have been impenetrable as he acted neither offensively nor defensively during all the time he remained on the field of inaction. It would be illiberal to reflect on the obscurity of his origin, since, like the famous Mare chal Shneyder, who from a taylor, was raised by his merit to the command of the Prussian armies—Brigadier General Richard Smith, скончавшии the drudgeries of a nauseous shop, was the artificer of his own fortune. This modern hero went to India in the humble capacity of a clerk to the captain of a merchant ship *a quelque chose meilleure est bon*, says the French proverb, effectively Dick, having been cast on the Coromandel coast near Madras, and found Neptune inconsolable, applied to propitious Mars, and tried his luck upon another element. The gentlemen of the presidency commiserating this friendless, distressed youth, implored in his behalf the governor's generosity, who appointed him a cadet on this establishment, like several renowned generals, who never had any opportunity to shew their military talents when at the heads of small parties and detachments, he would have remained unnoticed, if fortune had not advanced him to the first command of the East India Company, so far as we wish the general, like Caesar, had written his Commentaries, as he might better account for the true motives of his conduct, the first and only time he commanded upon the coast, no doubt humanity, which is the characteristic of a true hero, suggested to him the design

design of abandoning the siege of a place, which he was directed to storm ; and had not Major Horne, who was then Captain Lieutenant of the artillery, bluntly offered to bombard the place, and to assume the command, should the colonel desist from the enterprize ; the garrison and inhabitants had remained without fear or molestation.

As we are better informed of his memorable campaign of 1765, we are able to satisfy the curiosity of the public, in regard to the achievements of this extraordinary man ; Colonel Smith was stationed with his brigade at Allahabad, until Sujah al Dowlah had finally fulfilled the treaty, and at the same time covered with his shield, the Emperor Shaw Allum, as the tutelar genius of Hindostan.

On Friday the 25th of October, the following orders were issued.

" The 20th battalion of seapoys are to relieve all the guards of the first battalion to-morrow morning—two twelve pounders, and two six pounders, are to proceed to camp to morrow.

" The general to beat at half an hour past three, and the assembly at four o'clock, on Sunday morning, when the regiment and the first battalion of seapoys are to march to camp, to celebrate the anniversary of the Emperor of Hindostan's coronation ; each man to be furnished with six rounds of exercising cartridges."

After this compliment had been paid to a pageant of Royalty, the regiment and the first battalion of seapoys were ordered to parade at five o'clock on Sunday evening, in order to march back to Allahabad.

And

And the next day it was in orders :

" The present that was given yesterday by the king, is to be distributed between the artillery and the regiment, according to their several stations," though this donation bestowed on the private men was inconsiderable, yet the general should have forbidden his soldiers to receive it, as this nominal king had scarce, from his rich and extensive dominions, a revenue sufficient to defray the expences of his wretched household, and of a few troops, which were called his body guards. The Court of Directors were so sensible of this, that they ordered Colonel Smith to return to the king two lacs of rupees, which he had accepted from his majesty. However the general, who like the Roman pro-consul, was resolved to return home with Asiatic splendour and opulence, found means to have the sum secured to him through another channel.

He did not return to the garrison, but encamped with two battalions, and two guns, at Subahdan Cawn's gardens, and appointed Lieutenant Colonel Peach to the command of Allahabad during his absence; the colonel, after having remained here a little time, took a survey of the Korah province, which belonged to the king, who accompanied the general through part of his progress. This may be called a civil excursion, as military operations were out of the question; the general having pecuniary speculations, which will appear hereafter. His warlike exploits upon the coast of Coromandel having never been recorded, we must suppose this neglect arose for want of an able pen, on the Madras establishment, to which he belonged originally.

In order to make amends for this omission, we shall entitle this jaunt a campaign, lest our hero should lie under the imputation of quitting the army, without having shewn himself a formidable commander, as he really was sole and undisturbed master of the field.

Though there were no disturbances in the Korah province, nor apprehensions from a foreign enemy, yet the colonel, in his high wisdom, wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Peach at Allahabad, to send him an enforcement. Accordingly it was in orders the 15th of December, 1765.

"The detachment of artillery, with two six pounders, with their tumbrels of ammunition, and 30,000 musket cartridges, and the first battalion of seapoys, are to march to morrow morning, on the firing of a gun, to proceed to join the army (viz. the colonel with his two battalions) at the camp at Paulgong."

The colonel thought probably it was beneath his dignity to travel with less attendants, and with this additional force, he was able to compel his majesty's subjects to pay him his revenues, if they refused to submit to his authority.

Having been informed by Lieutenant Colonel Peach, that the desertion of the troops in garrison was frequent, the colonel sent the following order.

"Camp near Futtapoor, 25th December 1765.

"The colonel is extremely concerned to hear, from the report of Lieutenant Colonel Peach, of several soldiers of the regiment having so far forgot what they owe to themselves and to their country, as to desert their colours.

"The

" The colonel flattered himself that his admonition and exhortation would have had sufficient weight with every man in the regiment to have kept him steady in his duty, but he has now some reason to think, that soldiers when in liquor, are deluded away by black people, for he cannot suppose a European, who had the use of his senses, would renounce his freedom to be the *slave* of men whom he despises

Though we must commend the colonel in making choice of such words in the diction of his orders, as to strike more forcibly the minds of those to whom he addresses himself, and in calling them to a sense of their duty from principles of honour, yet as he has made use of the word *slave*, I beg leave to make a few reflections thereupon.

There are no Asiatics whatever, Moors or Genoos, kept by their princes or their masters in such an abjection and servility, as those who are under the power of the imperious and merciless head servants of the English East India Company. Too many British subjects have lately experienced this incontestible truth, to the universal indignation of our legislature, and the astonishment of the nation.

We have seen such scenes of cruelty and oppression exhibited as shock human nature. Gentlemen obliged to shut themselves up in their houses, to prevent their being forcibly dragged by black soldiers, on board of boats to be transported to Europe, yet this precaution could not protect them from the implacable and unprovoked resentment of these petty tyrants, as they could not seize on their bodies without breaking open doors they placed

placed soldiers on all the avenues to their houses. The following is his lordship's order to the officer who was sent after Messieurs Robertson and Duffield. "Contenting yourselves with placing guards in such a manner that they, Thomas Francis Robertson, and Captain Vernon Duffield, cannot possibly escape; nor are you to suffer any person, or persons whatsoever, to go in, or come out, or allow provisions and liquors, or other supplies, of any kind, to be conveyed to them, without my express orders."

They had shut themselves up in their apartments; the soldiers took up their quarters in the other part of the house; when they could hold out no longer for want of food, they were obliged to open their doors, and without being allowed to capitulate, delivered up their bodies to the mercy of their virulent persecutors. One gentleman's house was broke into in the night time, himself laid violent hands upon, when in bed with his wife, tore from her arms, dragged through the streets, immediately put on board of a sloop, and sent down the river. Several Europeans who used to get a comfortable subsistence, by trading through the country like the natives; and gentlemen, free merchants who had been settled for many years past, even without the company's territories, were all ordered to Calcutta, and there immured in loathsome dungeons; an order having been issued out, that none should presume to go above ten miles from the place without the governor's leave. If this is liberty, the Christian slaves in the states of Barbary, can justly call themselves free, in comparison with those who have incurred the dis-

pleasure of the principal company's servants in India.

These are some parts of his lordship's boasted regulations; his successor, Mr. Verelst, more timid than his predecessor, from whom however he had imbibed the same arbitrary measures of government, seldom ventured on such open acts of violence; but his malice and treachery were perhaps no less fatal to those, whom he was resolved to destroy. To prevent any application to the laws of this country for redress, and that no witnesses should appear against him in the supreme court of Justice, he ordered those he had devoted to perdition, to be confined one or two hundred miles from Calcutta. He caused two gentlemen of unblemished honour, to be immured three hundred miles from the seat of his presidency, in a loansome fortress, during five months; at the expitation of which, these injured and ill-fated officers were transported in a boat to Calcutta, and kept on the river three days and three nights, during the times of the Barrs, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, without shelter or assistance. They were then confined in a dismal dungeon, in New Fort William, under double guards, where they were refused the common necessaries to support nature: and to compleat their disasters, when these famished gentlemen were endeavouring (through an attorney) to have their case represented to the Justices of the Peace of Calcutta, they were suddenly seized in the night time, put on board of an old leaky sloop, and sent down the river as a sacrifice to the winds and the waves. The captain having refused to make a prison of his ship, they were brought

brought back with the melancholy prospect of being shut up a second time in Fort William; but the spirited behaviour of a military gentleman, who scorned to be the instrument of the governor's relentless cruelty, at last prevailed on him to set them free, upon their parole not to leave Calcutta. Indeed they might well rely upon their honour after the doctor had given them over, and when they were expected every moment to give up the ghost.

Under the same man's tyrannical government, many good soldiers, who had served the company faithfully, during the five years stipulated at the time they enlisted, were confined to New Fort William for three or four months, on frivolous pretences; some because they begged to be sent to their native country, after having served their time, others for just complaints of their woes.

These are indisputable facts, from which it is manifest, that the inferior servants of the English company are the greatest slaves in India; and the colonel knows that a soldier who deserts, must change his mode of servitude for the better.

After so many instances of the most illegal and arbitrary proceedings, one should be inclined to suppose that the English rulers in India, are either ignorant of our constitution, or flatter themselves to persecute and oppress their fellow subjects with impunity, at such a distance from the seat of Empire. It seems as if they had interpreted the spirit of our laws to be such, as to afford redress and protection to none, but the subjects who actually reside in Great Britain; precluding from this benefit all those who are settled in the Company's territories.

ries. Otherwise they could have never carried so far their tyrannical and nefarious measures against the liberty, and property of their fellow subjects. In vain they endeavoured to conceal from the public their iniquitous deeds, or to prevent the injured from obtaining justice from our superior courts, by purchasing seats in parliament, and with their ill gotten riches, endeavouring to bribe and corrupt law and equity; the time is happily come that no members of the legislature will sit in the senate with these Eastern depredators, and unanimously agree to detect, expose, and punish by ignominious expulsions from that house, composed of the people's representatives, these Asiatic robbers, whose plan was to enslave the constituents whom they had bought; as for our tribunals, some of them will soon find, that they cannot protect for ever, an ignominious verdict, a just punishment of their crimes and iniquities.

Indeed the intricacy and delays of our laws, have given them too much encouragement to think so. Many oppressed individuals rather than to bring an action against such powerful opponents, in feeding rapacious lawyers, thought it more consistent with prudence, and the preservation of their little property they had left them, to exhibit the list of their woes, and their sufferings by dint of enormous fees, which might be better applied for their subsistence, especially as the law's delays are almost equal to a denial of justice.

The two gallant officers whom I have mentioned, after so many repeated injuries, expected from our laws the satisfaction they could not obtain from the lawless mayor's court at Calcutta. They have gone almost

almost through every court of law in hopes of redress, and after five years chicanery and procrastination, the court of Chancery, that palladium of equity, thought proper to grant an injunction to stop proceedings, until witnesses were examined in the East-Indies; the gentlemen defendants having pleaded a justification, though the court of King's Bench and Common Pleas were the only judges in this case, it was referred to the cognizance of another tribunal, in order to discourage the plaintiff from further proceedings; and by this artful contrivance of their oppressors, the two great judges, who preside at the court above mentioned, with equal dignity and reputation, assisted by a jury, were reputed incompetent judges of a matter, which is of their resort; and the evidence which appeared at the trial, though indisputable, declared insufficient; whether a commission should have been granted or not, for the examination of witnesses, we refer this decision to the act of Habeas Corpus, which expressly says, that no injunction shall be granted but in the court where the cause is tried; the title of this act is to prevent imprisonment in persons beyond sea; this act is an addition to Magna Charta.

By the great charter, care was taken of the liberties of the subjects of England; we had no extra marine territories, but the French provinces that had devolved to the kings of the Norman race by inter-marriage or inheritance, and they were governed by their own laws. Our plantations, and extra marine territories, were by the Habeas Corpus act made liable to the laws of England, as founded on the great charter, which act subjected

Ireland

Ireland to the said charter This charter was only a confirmation of the common law, and no new institution, see lord Coke the mirror of justice and others

Therefore the common law extends to every part of the globe, where the British power is erected crimes therefore against general liberty are punishable if committed in India, in the same manner as if such misdemeanours had been done in England

An action for an assault and false imprisonment, should on no account whatever be screened from the cognizance of proper tribunals, by such an injunction, especially when it has been brought to that stage, that the death of the defendant as witness, or even of the plaintiff himself, should not prevent his heirs at law from reaping any advantage which they might derive from the merits of his case Otherwise a woman (for instance) who has lived in affluence in India with her husband, after seeing him sued by an arbitrary governor and council, and confined for no crime whatever, his goods and effects plundered, and after endeavouring in vain for six or seven years to get redress, when on the point to have the state of his case enquired into by his peers, the court of Chancery may interfere, and grant an injunction with a probability of its being made perpetual Her injured husband may die soon after, and with him his damages would be lost,—for an assault and false imprisonment being personal, though he might have lost all his property, yet his heirs have no redress, the widow with five or six children may be left friendless and destitute, and her family reduced

to beggary on account of the delays caused by such an injunction. This does not seem consonant with the proceedings of a court of equity.

We hope the reader will excuse this digression in favour of the oppressed, and the injured.

Colonel Smith, whose mighty and important concerns could not permit him to enter into the particulars of his officers circumstances, and whose speculations did coincide with the system of monopoly established by his lordship, thought it consistent with his lofty ideas of a commander in chief, to have his officers make that brilliant appearance, which was a sort of homage paid to his exalted station. Instead of allowing them time to have their regimentals and camp necessaries sent up by their friends at Calcutta, at the usual price they were obliged to purchase them from his lordship's agent, at an extravagant rate, in consequence of the following order given out the 4th of February, 1766.

" As many boats with necessaries are daily expected at Allahabad from Calcutta, the colonel particularly recommended it to all the officers of the brigade, who have not yet been able to provide their complete regimentals, to furnish themselves without delay, as it is probable the brigade may be reviewed early in April, the colonel expects every officer to appear at the review in his complete regimentals."

The second brigade was cantoned in a foreign prince's dominions, three hundred miles farther up the country, than they were used to be stationed, which occasioned every European necessary to be advanced at least 50 per cent.. besides, their Balta had

had not only been reduced, but they were paid in rupees of an inferior kind by the colonel, who like the great duke of Marlborough, with great military virtues, had suffered that sordid vice, called avarice to preponderate in his noble soul.

The provident colonel had taken possession of Sujah al Dowlah's mint at Banares, and proved his great skill in metallurgy, by recoining a new money, the immense profit of which enabled him to do honour to his masters, as the opulent representative of a company of merchants, sovereigns of the east. These adulterated rupees were for the most part issued out for the payment of the troops under his command. By this means the colonel found an easy way of disposing of upwards of one hundred thousand fine rupees every month, as will appear by his orders of the 9th of February,

"As the paymaster has by mistake, paid the troops of the garrison for the present month, in Surat instead of Vizier rupees, the commanding officers of companies are requested to return to the paymaster the difference between the Surat and the Vizier rupees, as the troops are to continue to be payed in the same specie as usual."

The colonel continued his progress through the Korah province, with the splendid retinue of an Asiatic potentate. But finding he could no longer with any degree of decency leave the command of his brigade, which he wished not to join until the rains forced him into winter quarters in April, revealed as an undoubted intelligence what he had seen in a dream, twenty thousand Marathas ready to invade the province of Kotah. Though all the colonel's army have impeached his veracity in this instance,

instance, and condemned him for having propagated this illusion, I think him highly justifiable in every respect... If he thought this a supernatural warning, he acted like an able and experienced general, to leave nothing to fortune, and to be guarded against any possible surprize; and if he deceived them by prodigy, he made, like Numa Pompilius and other great men of Greece and Rome, with the intervention of auguries and visions, the credulity of mankind subservient to his private designs.

Before we proceed in the narration of the Colonel's skilful marches and counter-marches, it is proper to disclose to our readers his sagacity, penetration and judgment, for suppressing that part of the committee orders which he could not reconcile with his extensive projects. Like a good general, wishing to keep something in reserve, he thought it was impolitical to acquaint his officers, that the country was in perfect tranquility; they all knew this, and a confirmation authenticated by Lord Clive and his committee, might have caused an exclamation in the military discipline, commonly the consequence of supineness and security; by this imaginary danger, he kept the troops in readiness upon any emergency; and though the pretended invasion of the Mharattas into the Korah province could not intimidate officers of skill and experience in his army, who had seen Mharattas in reality, yet he had foreseen that occurrences might happen which were likely to turn to his advantage; the event justified his fore-knowledge.

As the people in London are fond of shews, the general, who has never courted enough po-

pularity, may ingratiate himself into the favour of the public, in giving them a grand spectacle, a body of Mharattas horse marching down from Guallar, and afterwards flying, till they descend from the clouds to leap over the Mharatjah ditch within a mile of Calcutta; the whole to conclude with a grand conflagration of this seat of the Bengal presidency. Those who are fond of whatever is marvellous, will find this no more impossible than a body of Venetian horse marching over the Alps to attack the India House in Leadenhall street, there being as great a distance between the two places. We cannot otherwise account for the suppression of the fourth paragraph, than the Colonel's tender concern for his officers' happiness, in not anticipating the evil hour when their pay was to be reduced, as the apprehension of a disaster is commonly worse than the very misfortune itself.

Had he inserted the fifth paragraph, he could not have paid his officers the compliment, "that the committee had been so indulgent to the officers of the second brigade, as to continue the double battalion;" because by the fifth, the committee gave the officers at Mougher half batta, "on account of the unavoidable expence incurred by the officers in transporting liquors and other necessaries. Now this being the case, and his brigade stationed at double the distance of the place from which they were to be supplied with these necessaries, it is but a natural consequence of their pay being increased in proportion.

The seventh paragraph explains itself; the troops are ordered to be paid in Surata rupees, superior in value to those of Arcot three per cent;

the committee assigns as a reason for this alteration; "a farther encouragement to the officers, and on account of the frequent scarcity of Arcot rupees." The troops under Colonel Smith were paid in vizier rupees of the Colonel's own coining, about thirteen per cent. in value less than the Surat's. This was a farther discouragement to the officers of his brigade.

Another hardship the officers felt from receiving these rupees, was, that they did not pass current in Bengal; the people, therefore, who purchased necessaries for the army, raised their goods above the price, which they meant to sell them in proportion to what they knew they must lose by their vizier rupees.

Some morose and ill-natured writers would make an injurious comparison betwixt our hero and Major Sturgeon, in regard to his marches, and his dispositions for encountering an ideal enemy; allowing some parity, we shall not débase our modern warrior by a simile, which might hurt his pride, and lessen his consequence.

At last, our general with four battalions of sepoys, sailed down not before, but on one side of Sicagpoor. As the grand military opérations of the masters of the art of war déserué to be recordéd for the instruction of those destined to command armies, we shall give a particular account of the Colonel's consummate knowledge in tactics and castration, and shew, after his example, to our American generals, how to defend a pass at fifty-seven miles distance of it.

Before we proceed to give a description of the Colonel's encampment, it is necessary to point out the

the situation of Siragpoor. It has once been a place of considerable note, and is still one of the most flourishing towns in the province of Korah. It is pleasantly situated upon the banks of the Ganges, about one hundred and four miles N. W. and by N. of Allahabad, about one hundred and ten miles W. S. W. of Oude, and about fifty-seven miles E. and an half N. of Kalpee, which stands on the banks of the Jumna, which river empties itself into the Ganges at Allahabad. The Colonel encamped his four battalions about one mile and a quarter to the S. W. of the town; to the right the ground was rather higher than that which we possessed; it went with an easy declivity to the left, till it ended in a hollow overgrown with shrubs and small woods. About two or three hundred yards in front was a hollow way that ran the whole length of our encampment; to the left, the other side of this hollow, the ground was higher than that we occupied, on which there was a small village, about a mile W., and six N. of our encampment—Here the Colonel proposed waiting for twenty thousand Mharatta horse, which no one ever had the least information of but himself; and to keep up a military appearance on the hostile invasion; which the colonel had denounced against the province of Korah, he shewed his knowledge of fortifications was equal to his science of the tactics, in building a square fort to the left of his camp, among some trees, which supplied the want of bastions, and in serving as shelter from the torrid sun; might persuade it was a designed ambuscade for the enemy.

While

While the colonel was carrying on what he called his lines at Siragpoor, Sujah al Dowlah shewed that he was an unbeliever, for he never went to the southern frontiers of his dominions, which by the colonel's account 'the twenty thousand Mharattas were to enter' Sujah al Dowlah knew that there was no Mharattah army, at least within two hundred miles of the borders of his territories, and these pillagers were within their own districts; though the colonel was as well-informed on this subject as the 'Nabob, he might, as a 'good Christian, believe miracles, which an infidel could not reconcile with his faith, so little regard did the vizier pay to this report; that instead of marching to the south-east to defend his dominions, he went north east to Bhaafey, and having taken possession of that fortress, and settled those parts of the country, he turned towards the south east to Chuprah; and paid a visit to Lord Clive, his restorer and benefactor.

Colonel Smith, never forgetful of his high rank and dignity, played the Nabob with all the stately grandeur of these eastern princes, he reviewed his troops from the houdar of his Elephant, and not to be behind them in Asiatic voluptuousness and sensuality, he gave himself up to the enjoyment of loose desires in an elegant seraglio or zeripana, they indulging the passion of heroes in the arms of favourite concubines, after the toils and fatigues of the field, if he had not the chastity of Scipio, he rivalled Alexander in his promiscuous amours. While the colonel was shewing himself an excellent practitioner in eastern polygamy, a circumstance happened which disclosed his despotic measures.

which no doubt he had adopted after the examples of some of his predecessors in military command. As historian, my partiality and admiration of the colonel's warlike achievements, cannot influence me to pass unnoticed his conduct, lightly culpable towards Mr. Virtue, a much injured officer. The case of this gentleman, is but little known to the public, and though the rancorous illiberal pen of Mr. Strachey, Lord Clive's Secretary, Mr. Virtue, in consequence of the reduction of the officers pay, when on the field, called batta, wrote a letter to the colonel the sixth of May, as several others had done, requesting leave to resign his commission; and if the colonel did not think proper to grant his request immediately, he professed that esteem for the service, and that respect for his commanding officer, as should induce him to wait till the end of the month.

In consequence of this application, the colonel issued out a general order greatly injurious and disgraceful to officers zealous of their honour, which insult they resented with a becoming spirit, in a letter addressed to him, desiring it might be forwarded to the president and council, that no misrepresentation might prejudice men who had served with zeal and fidelity, in their opinion.

The colonel, highly incensed at this just expostulation, not only confirmed his former decrees, but ordered most of the officers, who had requested leave to resign, to Calcutta.

Mr. Virtue, whose high notions of honour were different from those of his commanding officer, waited on him the 8th of May, about three o'clock in the afternoon; and as the colonel, in one of

his orders, had declared that "The services of his officers were by no means desirable; Mr. Virtue therefore requested leave to resign his commission immediately; upon which an altercation passed between the colonel and him, in respect to his intended resignation, which the colonel peremptorily refused to accept." Mr. Virtue replied, that he could not with honour serve under such orders; that indeed he had informed (by letter) the colonel of his intention to resign at the end of the month; but as the only answer which the colonel had given to that proposal was in a public order, which reflected upon his honour. This Mr. Virtue acquainted the colonel was the reason of his resigning now, since he did not chuse to alter his orders; and after laying down his commission on the colonel's table, told him that he should leave the encampment that evening, asking him if he had any commands to Calcutta.—"No, none at all," answered the colonel.

Mr. Virtue returned to his tent immediately after this, and ordered all his baggage to be packed up instantly ready for a march. He then ordered his servant to go to Lieutenant Colonel Peach's tent, the commandant of the lines, to know when he could wait on him, and acquaint him with his intentions to leave the camp. His servant brought him word that Mr. Peach was asleep. Mr. Virtue ordered him to return to the colonel's tent, and when it was late in the evening desired to be immediately admitted into his presence. Mr. Virtue was impatient to leave the army, and this was only a compliment he wished to pay to the Lieutenant colonel, as commandant

of the lines, when Mr. Virtue observed his servant coming towards him, he went to meet him, and finding the colonel was up, walked towards his tent, Mr Peach perceiving him, immediately mounted his horse, which was ready saddled at the door, and rode off to the rear that Mr. Virtue should have no opportunity to speak to him Mr Virtue returned to his tent after this disappointment, and whilst he was walking before it with some gentlemen, Colonel Smith, mounted on an elephant, and Lieutenant Colonel Peach, with other officers on horseback, passed by close to his tent Mr. Virtue saluted the colonel, and the other officers in the same respectful manner as usual, and endeavoured to speak to Lieutenant Colonel Peach, which he perceiving, briskly rode up on the opposite side of Colonel's Smith's elephant, when Mr. Virtue observed he so industriously avoided being near him, he immediately called for his horse, and in full view of the troops who were paraded for roll calling, rode out between the two left hand battalions of the line, in sight of both the colonels, who were within less than one hundred yards of him Mr Virtue, after travelling about two miles, halted his people, returned back to the camp, and supped with some of his friends, who were ordered to Calcutta, and proceeded the same night with him

When Mr Virtue arrived at Allahabad on the 14th, he immediately wrote a letter to Major Smith, who commanded in the Fort, acquainting him of his arrival, and that he would have done himself the pleasure of waiting on him, if he was not much indisposed, but that he would take

the earliest opportunity, of returning him thanks for the civilities he had received of him, and desired to know his commands for Calcutta.) In answer to this letter, Mr. Virtue was honoured with a visit from Major Smith's adjutant, who informed him, that he had orders from the major to put him in arrest, on which he informed the adjutant, that he was no military man, and should therefore obey no order of that kind; the adjutant replied, that he apprehended if Mr. Virtue persisted in that resolution he would be taken up by a guard. Mr. Virtue's answer was, that he could not oppose force to force; but as he was a free-born British subject, he doubted not but he should find relief in the laws of his country for all acts of violence and oppression, which Major Smith might think proper to exercise towards him—He had then a copy of an arrest in writing delivered to him, and signed by the adjutant. This occasioned Mr. Virtue to write again to Major Smith, to acquaint him that he was no soldier, nor did he think himself subject to his commands, therefore could not obey them; and concluding with the same words he had spoke to the adjutant. Mr. Virtue, after this, remained three or four days at Allahabad, without further molestation, and then proceeded publickly down the river to Ghunargut; and after paying his compliments to Major Gallier, the commanding officer, continued his journey to Banares and Patna. On Mr. Virtue's arrival at Banares, he was laid hold of by a party of seapoys, who carried him to Lieutenant Fullerton; this gentleman went with him to Colonel Sir Robert Barker, the commanding officer; Sir Robert, who

scarce deigned to look at Mr. Virtue, asked him if he considered himself in the service. Upon his answering in the negative, Sir Robert ordered Mr. Fullarton to confine Mr. Virtue in Chalcey Tower, which was done in a most severe and ignominious manner; he was some time confined to a bad apartment which admitted the rain; the unhealthy situation in which he was placed, brought on disorders which he was doomed to suffer, without the assistance of a doctor; and he was long confined before he knew what he was confined for, or upon what principles he was detained. What a disagreeable situation Mr. Virtue must have been in, when informed that Lord Clive had sworn he would blow him from a gun or shoot him, and the last he was to expect was death of some sort. These declarations before a trial, were most infamous; but these were the times when honest spirited men, who wished well to their employers, were, under various pretences, cruelly oppressed with all the aggravations of outrage, and contumely.

It was not until the fifteenth of July that Mr. Virtue was brought before a military court, under guard, without any previous notice. After the Judge Advocate (Captain Thomas Pearson) had acquainted him of the charges against him, Mr. Virtue desired the court would inform him, "whether it was not customary by the laws of the realm, to give a prisoner timely notice to prepare himself for trial."

The Judge Advocate thereupon made answer, that he had acquainted the prisoner, by a letter dated the twenty-eighth of June last, that it was the Right Honourable the Commander in Chief's pleasure,

pleasure, that he should be tried as soon as members could be assembled for that purpose.

Mr. Virtue then observed to the court, that he had always declined appearing before any military court, being no military man; but since they had forcibly brought him before them so unprepared, he begged leave to retire a few minutes, which request on repetition was granted; but before he retired, he mentioned to the court, that Colonel Sir Robert Barker was among the number of witnesses in the list; he gave to the Judge Advocate, from Chalcey Tomb, and was surprized to find him sitting to judge him—Mr. Virtue was silenced by the Judge Advocate, who informed him that Colonel Sir Robert Barker had that peculiar privilege of being both witness and judge.

When Mr. Virtue returned to the bar of the court-martial, he protested against the authority and jurisdiction of the court, read the same to the court, after which he laid the protest down upon the table. The court was then cleared, and after debating upon it about half an hour, Mr. Virtue was again called in, and the president informed him that the court had rejected his protest, and every part thereof, and that they would immediately proceed to the examination of witnesses for the king, which they accordingly did; and after completing the evidence in support of the charge against the prisoner, the court desired Mr. Virtue to prepare himself for his defence against eight o'clock the next day. The court then adjourned till then, and he was remanded back to prison.

The court on Wednesday the sixteenth met according to adjournment, and Mr. Virtue being brought

brought before them by a guard as on the preceding day, was desired to make his defence; whereupon he again offered his protest, against the jurisdiction of the court, and was again told that his protest had been already rejected, and that the court still did reject it, and therefore wished him to make his defence; but Mr. Virtue refused to plead before a court whose authority and jurisdiction he never could acknowledge. The court finding Mr. Virtue firm in his resolution of not pleading, required the Judge Advocate to endeavour to get new evidence against him, acknowledging that the charge against Mr. Virtue had hitherto been but weakly supported, by the depositions already taken. They then adjourned till next day; they met and adjourned from day to day, from the sixteenth of July to the twelfth of August following, when they met, and Mr. Virtue was brought again before them as on the foregoing days; the Judge Advocate being required to produce his fresh evidence, against Mr. Virtue, made answer that he could produce no witness to prove that Mr. Virtue had received pay for the month of May, but that he had persons ready to attest upon oath, that Mr. Virtue had, in the protest which he read to the court, acknowledged that he had received 62 ruprees in the month of May last; but there were some of the members who had honesty enough to reject so vile a proposal, and declared, that as they had unanimously rejected his said protest, and every part thereof, they could not think of picking out any particular part of it to bring in evidence against him, when they at the same time refused him the benefit of every part that tended to do him service; and therefore, after a

vocate (if he had no evidence to produce) to close the prosecution upon the evidence already given. Whereupon Captain Pearson, the Judge Advocate, proceeded to sum up the evidence; the manner in which he did it being so singular, we beg leave to give it at length in his own words. It gives a just idea of the times of his Lordship's government, and what his dependants were capable of doing—we shall throw a few reflections upon the manner of the Judge Advocate's summoning up the evidence, and will shew that no such conclusion could justly be drawn therefrom.

The Judge Advocate then observed to the court.

1. That it had appeared by the evidence of Colonel Smith, that the prisoner received his express orders not to leave the camp without his permission. That the prisoner had disobeyed these orders and deserted his charge, had appeared by the evidence of Lieutenant Colonel Peach; who, on the 9th of May in the morning, reported him to Colonel Smith, absent from camp; and that in consequence of this report, orders had been issued out to arrest him, which were produced in court. That the prisoner himself had not thought proper to deny those facts, but had protested against the authority of the court, alledging that he was no officer in the service, and therefore not subject to military laws.

2. That the court, after having heard the prisoner, read the said protest, rejected it, considering the prisoner as subject to their jurisdiction.

3. That it had appeared that the prisoner, in his letter to Colonel Smith of the 6th of May, agreed to

to serve to the end of the said month, which is sufficient contract for the limited time.

4. That he considered himself as an bearing the rank of Lieutenant, had appeared by his signing himself as such in a letter of the 7th of May, addressed to Colonel Smith, by the major part of the Korah detachment.

5. That he was mustered as a Lieutenant in the service, on the first of May, had appeared by the evidence of Mr. Cobham, commissary.

6. That his pay for May last had been drawn by the commanding officer of the battalion he belonged to, in the customary manner of the service, had appeared by the evidence of Captain Harper.

7. That the prisoner himself in his protest had acknowledged, he received sixty two rupees in the month of May, had appeared by the said protest.

8. the Judge Advocate further observed to the court, that sixty-two rupees has always been, and now is, the customary pay of a Lieutenant of Infantry in the service, for every month containing thirty-one days; and that all other allowances of Battalions, &c are only extraordinary and occasional.

9. Likewise that in cases of the same nature with the present, when a prisoner acknowledges he has received his pay, it is customary to admit it, as sufficient evidence thereof.

10. And as the court rejected the prisoner's protest, and considered themselves as legally authorised to condemn or acquit him; the Judge Advocate concluded with observing, that the crimes the prisoner is charged with, had been clearly proved by sufficient evidence.

The court being cleared, and the president and members having taken into mature consideration, the evidence against the prisoner, they were of opinion that he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, viz. disobedience of orders and desertion. The first of which being a breach of the 1st article of the 5th section of the articles of war, they have sentenced him, and he is hereby sentenced to be cashiered with infamy, by having a sword and espontoon broke over his head, and a hat cut in pieces before him, at the head of all the troops cantooned at Bankipoor.

We shall not trouble the public with the particulars of what the witnesses deposed; the Judge Advocate called on them to support the charge against Mr. Virtue; we shall confine ourselves, entirely to his summoning up the evidence, and charge to the court, which appears to have been done with all the acrimony of party, and insolence of office. We shall be very succinct in our observations, but that we may be properly understood, we have numbered the paragraphs.

1st. It must be noticed, that Mr. Virtue was ordered into confinement at the instance of Colonel Smith; another evidence is therefore wanting, to confirm what the colonel may advance, as proof against Mr. Virtue. What Colonel Peach deposed was nothing against Mr. Virtue, it was a natural consequence; if he was not present he must be absent; how is this made disobedience of orders; it cannot by the accuser Colonel Smith telling him so.

It is a known fact, that Mr. Virtue left the detachment, and went off with all his things, in presence of both the colonels, who were in front of the

the troops drawn up for roll-calling. Colonel Smith was in the houder of his elephant, and Lieutenant Colonel Peach on horseback, who remained some time, and looked at Mr. Virtue, with his servants, who were between fifteen or twenty in number. May not we now ask Colonel Smith why he did not immediately send for Mr. Virtue, if he looked upon him as an officer, to know the cause of this, and enquire the reason why he was not with his battalion upon the parade

Why did not Colonel Smith, if he thought Mr. Virtue had deserted, send a positive order to Major Smith who commanded in Allahabad Fort, to make him a prisoner on his arrival there. All that Major Smith did, was, that when Mr. Virtue sent him a letter, acquainting him of his arrival, and that he would do himself the pleasure of waiting on him to receive his commands at Calcutta—he sent his adjutant to put him under an arrest, but on Mr. Virtue's making answer that he could not obey it, as he was no officer, he received no more messages from the major, though he remained some days after at Allahabad; though it appears that Major Smith was examined, the Judge Advocate has taken no notice in summoning up evidence of what he said. Why did not the colonel when he sent an order to Mr. Sage, resident at Banares, to seize on Captain Parker, and make him a prisoner, also send him word to lay hold of Mr. Virtue who was likewise there. And why did not Sir Robert Barker when Mr. Virtue was brought to him by Lieutenant Fullarton, immediately, order him into confinement, without asking him the question, or if he considered himself

elf as in the service. It plainly appears by this manner of acting; they endeavoured to draw Mr. Virtue into an error, by which they might take advantage of him; but finding him too much upon his guard, they were determined at all events to confine him with the hopes of finding out a crime against him afterwards.

If this was not the case, why was he not informed when made a prisoner, of the crime he was guilty of. The judge advocate acknowledges that he did not inform him, until the 28th of June, and Mr. Virtue was made a prisoner on the 7th.

2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th. Mr. Virtue's writing a letter to colonel Smith, telling him that he would resign at the end of the month, surely could not be binding upon him, when the colonel afterwards told him in public orders, that he did not desire his services; Mr. Virtue did on the 7th consider himself an officer, (consequently must have been mustered) but it was only until he knew from the colonel whether or not his offer of service was honourably accepted of; when he found, that not to be the case, he insisted upon resigning immediately, and did accordingly resign to him his commission.

6th and 7th. Mr. Virtue's pay being drawn in the customary manner, does by no means affect him; nor is it proof against him in saying, That he acknowledged to have received sixty-two rupees in the month of May by his protest, when the protest and every part of it was rejected by the court. This is most invidious and unfair.

8th and 9th. Though sixty-two rupees has always been, and now is, the customary pay of

Lieutenant : yet it was a fact also, that every Lieutenant in the seapoys, which Mr. Virtue was a Lieutenant of, has monthly allowance which exactly corresponds with their pay, whether the month contains 28, 29, 30, or 31 days ; how then could the judge-advocate determine whether it was this allowance or his pay Mr. Virtue mentioned in his protest ? Mr. Virtue did not acknowledge having received his pay, but to have received sixty-two rupees by his protest.

10th. We will leave to the impartial public to judge, how far the court, was right in rejecting Mr. Virtue's protest and proceeding in the manner they did. We beg leave entirely to differ in opinion with the judge advocate for the crimes ; " Disobedience of orders and desertion are not in the smallest degree proved by any evidence which appears upon an examination of his own charge."

A very worthy member of that court-martial, Lieutenant colonel Graham, who was then a captain, has often been heard to say, that he would give five hundred guineas to be legally released from his oath of secrecy. When the sentence of the court-martial was communicated to Mr. Virtue by the brigade major, it was accompanied by the following letter from himself ; as it conveys the feelings of every honest man who were on the spot, and his friends in particular, I beg leave to insert it.

" It is with infinite concern, I must be the transmitter by order of colonel Sir Robert Barker, of orders of this nature to you. How much such a sentence, on such a man, as I ever knew you to be, affects me ; I am equally conscious how sensibly

bly every friend feels for you. I could, though such a subject cannot fail to move with concern, to damp with melancholy every line, write much to try to comfort you in your situation ! But I am forced abruptly, through uneasiness, to break off, with assuring you, &c.

John Jones."

To sum up the absurd and illegal proceedings of this court-Martial, more odious than those of the Star-chamber ; their incompetency is proved from the following circumstances of Mr. Virtue's case.

He was called in the 16th of July, before the court martial, and desired the second time of his appearance, to make out his defence ; on his denying the legality of the court, and protesting against it, the court adjourned for want of sufficient evidence, and desired the judge-advocate to endeavour to get new evidence. They adjourned from time to time until the 12th of August, and then the judge-advocate informed the court that he cannot produce any witness to prove that Mr. Virtue received pay for the month of May, and yet in summing up the evidence, he would make it appear that Mr. Virtue's own protest, which the court had refused to admit, was good evidence against him ; because sixty-two rupees happened to be mentioned in it ; which he construed into pay, though they were no such words in the protest, and because a lieutenant's pay is sixty-two rupees when the month consist of thirty-one days.

This lawless court, found upon the 12th of August, without having examined one witness, sufficient proofs to find Mr. Virtue guilty of the crime laid

laid to his charge, and to disgrace him by a most iniquitous and degrading sentence.

When Mr Virtue arrived in England, he brought an action against Sir Clive for false imprisonment, in full assurance of receiving some satisfaction, though not adequate to the injury for the cruel treatment he had received. But his lordship's character had not yet been explored to the public, and his good fortune supported, yet his drooping trophies.

The 20,000 Marattas, whom Colonel Smith had imagined ready to invade the King's dominions, which lay beyond our ally Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, did so infatuate the jury with an opinion of Mr Virtue's guilt, for having resigned his commission at the time of this ideal danger, that they brought in a verdict for his lordship.

So uncertain law is, that what is reputed legal to day may be declared the contrary to morrow, and a poor oppressed man, who expects from the laws of his country a redress for the injuries done him by opulent upstarts almost sure, after the expensive delays, and the disgusting chicanery of sophistical pleadings, to starve with a just cause. Captain Parker brought an action at the same time for the same daring violation of personal liberty and lost his cause, crushed by the weight of riches and interest. Indeed, he was through the interest of his friends restored to the company's service, though not to his proper standing, however, the court of directors have since done him and themselves the justice of restoring him to his rank in their service. Surely, Mr Virtue is equally entitled by his faithful services whilst he bore their com-

: commission to the same act of justice and humanity, could they divest themselves of party connections pusillanimous apprehensions, and shameful prejudices.

Give me leave, gentlemen of the directors to address you on this important subject, and to ask you some questions relative to the most flagrant acts of oppression and sordid knavery committed by your chief servants, for fifteen years past.

Have not your predecessors in the direction adopted the invariable maxim, to side with the opulent, the tyranical and the rapacious, and to withdraw their protection from the injured, the oppressed, and the guiltless?

Have they ever made an exemplary punishment of men in high station, in civil or military capacity, who have been the instigators of princes cruelly murdered and unjustly deposed; of the abettors of the most nefarious deeds; frauds, plunders and monopolies; of men who have disgraced the British name, and the company of merchants they represent; of villains who have divested, famished, persecuted and ruined nations and individuals, Indian and British subjects? if some have been suspended for a time, they have been restored to their former stations or their command. Have they ever espoused the cause of their faithful inferior servants, and generously contributed to their support, when forced to seek for redress, at an enormous expence in Westminster-hall? Had they found in Leaden-hall-street the justice and satisfaction, which they ought to expect and to demand, government had never interfered in your interior administration, all the branches which were corrupt and vicious, the

records of parliament which I shall open in the following numbers, exhibit such horrid scenes of wickedness and inquiry as will be an indelible grace upon some of your presidents, generals and their employers

The time is happily come that every attempt of a chartered company to enslave their fellow subjects will not pass unpunished, if the American colonies are likely to withdraw their allegiance from the best of sovereigns, for some acts of parliaments calculated to check their mutinous spirit and restrain their trade What have you to expect from sovereigns and nations? you have suffered to be reduced to the most ignominious vassalage, and the most intolerable thralldom from your countrymen, whom you have ungenerously forsaken, in their complicated disasters and calamities Should the same spirit of persecution and injustice, influence the council of Bengal, I hope there is virtue enough in some of your servants injured, to obtain redress against ungrateful masters, in their own courage and resolution Your commerce and your empire may be irretrievably lost in the convulsive pangs of rage and despair

Having began the colonel's campaign it obviously, it is not in our power to support the irony to the conclusion

The colonel no longer able to keep up the idea of a Maratta army invading the Korah province, and the rains setting in, he thought proper on the 30th of May to address his lordship in the following words

" The Maratta's having made another march to the N. W. towards Guallar, it leaves me at liberty

to act without apprehension. By the 4th I intend to break up this camp and send the troops with all expedition to Allahabad."

This only and ever memorable Bengal campaign of the colonel's being now at an end, it remains to dispel the cloud of false rumours which warped the judgments of many, who were not acquainted with the circumstances and secret cause for propagating these reports. We will even prove that the colonel himself was sensible there was no just cause of apprehension of the Maratta's invading the company's Ally's dominions, or he was unworthy of the station he held.

If the colonel really imagined the Maratta's were resolved to invade the Korah province, should he not rather have encamped the troops under his command on the banks of the Sumna, where they were supposed to enter, instead of the Ganges which left the enemy a space of fifty or sixty miles of country to devast, before they could reach his encampment; and what end could answer the throwing up of lines? it was only putting the company to a great expence for no purpose whatever; and they were even so foolishly ill contrived, that had the enemy made their appearance, he must have left them and gone into Surajapoor, otherwise that city must have been plundered in sight of his army; but a stronger reason than this would have forced him to it; he could not have supplied his little army even with the common necessaries of life; and he had fixed his sheep-pen, for it cannot be called with propriety by any other name at so great a distance from the river:

ver : that he would have been obliged to quit it, merely for want of water.

When the second brigade was stationed at Allahabad, it was only until the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah should make good the sixth article of the treaty of the 16th of August, 1765. The 10th article says ;

" As soon as this treaty is executed, the English forces shall be withdrawn from the dominions of his highness, excepting such as may be necessary for the garrison of Chunar, or for the defence and protection of the king in the city of Allahabad, if his majesty should require a force for that purpose."

The company being in alliance with the emperors of Hindostan, and the nabob Sujah al Dowlah ; by treaty had agreed to protect the former in the city of Allahabad, and to assist the latter in the field against his enemies when required of him. If our troops then remained in Allahabad until the vizir nabob Sujah al Dowlah required their assistance, they answered, the intention of their being there ; as the vizir nabob, on whom the Maratta's were supposed to have a demand for past services, declared he had no intelligence but from the rumours propagated by colonel Smith, to which he gave no credit, he took no more precaution to guard the frontiers of his dominions than if no such report had ever been spread ; is not this self-sufficient evidence to prove that no Maratta's ever intended coming into the Korah province ? but allow for one moment that the colonel alone thought otherwise. How can he reconcile this with his duty to the company whose servant he was ; or to their ally, whom he served

as a general -- A faithful disinterested servant would only have acted in concert with Sujah al Dowlah when called on by that prince, and not stepped forth the champion, to waste the blood and treasure of his employers to defend his dominions, when Sujah al Dowlah had an army sufficient to oppose them, laying inactive in the centre of his dominions. As an officer, the colonel ought to have marched with his four battalions to the banks of the Jumna, and there to have opposed the Maratta's coming into the country, instead of throwing up entrenchments at Surajpoor, the whole breadth of the Korah province, from the place the enemy were supposed to enter at.

It was rumoured about that fifty thousand French were encamped at Bologne ready to be transported to Hastings, and that this was the place, and no other they could land at. What should be done to an English general, who instead of marching to Hastings went and encamped his army at Liverpool, and besides put the nation to twenty or thirty thousand pounds expence for entrenchments?

The colonel in his letter of the 30th of May to his lordship mentions, that the Maratta's had made another march to the N. W. towards Guallar : they did so, but they were marching in their own country, making a little tower, as the colonel was doing, in the Korah province : they were even beyond the mountain which lay about thirty or forty cose south of Kalpee. Before the colonel made such an uproar, he ought to have allowed the poor Maratta's to have been out of their own country, and to the northward of these mountains,

marching in full gallop E. N. E. and then etc then Sujah al Dowlah should have been present.

Colonel Smith has the honour of being the first British commander who ever entrenched himself from a few Maratta horse ; there was never a subaltern in his detachment but would have beat them with half the troops he had under his command. Why did he not call in the assistance of the rest of his brigades from Allahabad, if he was afraid to face them in the field rather than throw up entrenchments, when two-thirds of his brigades were laying inactive at Allahabad.

Colonel Richard Smith having obtained the command of the army at Allahabad, and with that the direction of the king Shah Allum, had an extensive field open to him, in which he soon displayed his abilities, not only as a great general, but as a consummate politician, farmer, financier and merchant. He took into his service one Kellaram who had been a servant of Setabroy, afterwards made nabob of Patna, in whose name he took from the king a grant of the subahship of Allahabad, which for near three years he held at the rate of seven lacs per annum, and thereby made an immense annual profit. He also obtained from Sujah al Dowlah, a grant of exclusively making all the saltpetre produced in that prince's dominions in the name of one Ishmaelbeg. In the name of the ostensible minister Moneer al Dowlah, he procured the payment of the 26 lacs allowed yearly by the company to the king, and in the name of one Vincitram, afterwards banyan to Sir Robert Barker, he also obtained the mint at Allahabad, while he stationed his brother captain John Smith at Banaras,

who

who likewise held the mint at that city in the name of his banyan Calichurn. The use of these mints was extremely convenient, for when there was too much business at Allahabad, the colonel used to consign his treasure to his brother at Banaras, where, and at Allahabad the rupees sent up from Bahar, as well for the payment of the king's stipend as for the payment of the troops, were sweated into vi-zier rupees, and issued at a rate which yielded a profit of eighteen per cent to the concerned.

This business was too profitable to be easily abandoned, and therefore under a pretence that Syjah al Dowlah had increased his army with hostile intentions the company's troops consisting of nine battalions of sepoys, one regiment and two battalions of Europeans, with two companies of artillery and three troop of cavalry were detained at Allahabad, upon double batta. But the poor king was not left to the management of his own officers, for when they wanted their accounts to be settled, they constantly applied to our colonel, who for presenting an arreac to the king, and getting him to sign it for the passing of an account of fifty lacs, is said to have received six lacs as a reward from Moneer al Dowlah, who on account of the obstructions he met with in his business, has been known on this occasion to have said to an English gentleman,

Meyne Jinnarko, bhookha dikkherke, tookrah phenk dea hong.

" I saw the animal was hungry, and I threw him
" a morsel "

The misunderstanding with Sujah al Dowlah was fomented until the poor governor of Calcutta was frightened or cajoled to consent in November 1768, to a deputation of our colonel with Mr. John Cartier and Mr. Claud Russel, which cost the company four lacs of rupees, and on which Smith and Russel obtained very considerable presents from Sujah Dowlah.

By these means our colonel soon encreased his mite, and returned to his native country, where his wealth enabled him to corrupt the English burgesses of Hindon, but he found virtue enough in the British senate, to deprive him of a seat acquired by notorious bribery and the inglorious arts of his despicable agents.

As the nation called aloud for a parliamentary inquiry, in regard to the transactions of the East India company's servants, on which the noble lord invested with the supreme civil and military command in Bengal had had so powerful an influence, we shall have the satisfaction of exhibiting to the public these rapacious and tyrannical culprits, several of which were members of the legislature, that they could neither bias nor corrupt, by their ill-gotten riches in their true colours at the bar of the select and secret committees of this august assembly. If their iniquitous deeds have passed unpunished, their names will stand upon record noted with disgrace and infamy.

Narrative of the defection of the officers of the army in Bengal in the year 1766, taken from the report of the committee of secrecy appointed by the House of Commons to enquire into the state of the East India company.

The mutinous defection of the officers of the army in Bengal, in the year 1766, is an event scarcely to be paralleled in the history of any age or country. In order to give as distinct an account as possible of so confused a scene, it may be necessary to explain the circumstance which is alleged to have given rise to the combination, although the eye of an impartial observer on the spot could not fail to discover, that the licentious disposition of the company's civil servants not only coincided with, but actually infected the military branch.

It is many years since the East India company, in consideration of the extraordinary expences and inconveniences unavoidably incurred the campaigns in that country, indulged the officers in their service with a certain allowance per diem, exclusive of their pay ; this allowance originally went and still goes by the name of "Batta," or field expences.

When the English forces took the field, in conjunction with the nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn, after the battle of Plassey, our military expences were, agreeably to treaty, defrayed by his excellency ; who likewise thought proper to encrease the emoluments of the officers, by granting them a double allowance, which of course obtained the name of

of "double Batta;" and lord Clive at that time, in order that the gentlemen should not too confidently depend upon the continuance of this new bounty, represented to them, that it was merely a temporary indulgence of the nabob, an indulgence not enjoyed by our officers in any other part of India, and could only continue to those in Bengal during his excellency's pleasure. The expence of this double batta however, though first introduced and paid by Jaffier Ally Cawn, was, in process of time, thrown upon the company; who, unwilling to adopt such an expensive precedent, notwithstanding the revenues of several districts of lands had been assigned over by the nabob to the company for defraying the charges of the army, repeatedly issued orders, in the most positive terms, that it should be abolished, but the situation of their military and political affairs in Bengal, was so frequently critical, and the superior servants in the civil branch so averse, perhaps through want of resolution, to abridge the officers of any emolument; that a remonstrance from the army never failed to convince the governor and council of the impropriety of such a resolution. It must be remembered, that the accomplishing this business was one of the principal points of reformation pressed upon lord Clive in the year 1764, when, at the request of a général court of proprietors of East India stock, he was prevailed upon to accept once more the government of Bengal. With resolution and disinterestedness he steadily pursued, from the hour of his arrival at Calcutta, such measures as seemed best calculated to effect the great purposes of his appointment; and the

quietly of the country being the necessary ground work of all other permanent regulations; it concluded as soon as possible, a general peace throughout the provinces, upon terms both honourable and advantageous to the company.

The war being ended, it was judged proper to withdraw our forces from the dominions of our new ally, Sujah Dowlah, and to quarter them at such places, and in such divisions, as would not only be most conducive to the health of the soldiers, but most convenient for furnishing detachments, which from time to time, might be required to assist in the collection of the revenues, or to march upon other accidental services. The whole army was regimented, agreeably to the plan proposed by lord Clive, and approved of by the company, before his lordship embarked for India. It was also divided into three brigades, each brigade consisting of one regiment of European infantry, one company of artillery, six battalions of sepoys (or black infantry) and one troop of black cavalry, with field officers in proportion.

The first brigade was ordered to garrison Monghyr (300 miles from Calcutta) under the command of lieutenant colonel Sir Robert Fletcher, in the absence of brigadier general Carnac, who had been called down to the presidency, to take his seat at the select committee, of which the court of directors had appointed him a member. The third brigade, commanded by colonel Sir Robert Baker, was cantoned at Bankipore near Patna, about 100 miles beyond Monghyr, and the second brigade, commanded by colonel Smith, was stationed

stationed at Allahabad, 200 miles beyond Patna, by the earnest desire of the king and Sujah al Dowlah, in order to secure them against the invasion of the Moratta's, until they should have sufficiently recruited their own army, which the length of the late war had almost entirely destroyed.

The restoration of peace and public tranquillity, together with the establishment of a more perfect system of military discipline and subordination than could have been effected before the regimenting of the troops, afforded a favourable opportunity for carrying into execution the company's instructions relative to the reduction of the batta.

Orders were accordingly issued by the select committee to the following effect, viz. That on the 1st of January, 1766, the double batta should cease, excepting with the second brigade, which, on account of the high price of provisions at Allahabad, and the expence of procuring the necessary Europeans articles at so great a distance from the presidency, were to be allowed the double batta in the field, and the old original single batta in cantonments, or in garrison, until they should be recalled within the provinces; for the same reasons half single battas was to be continued to the troops at Patna and Monghyr; but the rest of the army, not engaged in actual service, we mean, the detachments at the presidency, at subordinate factories, and Coromandel, that is to say, they were to have no batta at all.

The officers had been too successful in their remonstrances against former orders of the li' nature, to omit preferring them upon this occasion.

tion: The positive orders of the company were, however, urged to them in reply; nor did lord Clive and the select committee flatter them with any hopes that the indulgence of double batta would be prolonged beyond the time limited: the reduction accordingly took place on the first day of the new year; the gentlemen of the army, with whatever reluctance, thought proper for the present to acquiesce; and all complaint seemed to have entirely subsided: But this was only an appearance of submission; private meetings and consultations were held upon the subject in each brigade; secret committees were formed under the denomination of free-masons lodges, and means of obtaining redress devised, which seemed to have no other alternative than a mutiny of the whole army, consisting of 20,000 men; and, in consequence, the extirpation of the English company in Bengal. They had no idea, perhaps, that things could come to such extremities; their measures were calculated merely for compelling the administration to a renewal of the batta, by a general resignation of their commissions, without regarding the probable consequences to themselves, or to the public; and unanimity; they doubted not, would ensure success. This alarming combination was originally planned in December 1765, or January 1766, at Monghyr, and from thence proposed to the captains and subalterns of the second and third brigades. The first letter that appears to have been written, was to the officers in garrison at Allahabad, who immediately had a meeting to debate the matter; at this meeting a letter was also produced from the third brigade;

but before they determined upon an answer to either, they wrote to a detachment of their own brigade, encamped at Korah; who considering themselves upon actual service, replied, That they could not in honour immediately join in the defection; but that, after the expiration of their present service, they would not continue to hold their commissions to the prejudice of those gentlemen who should resign.

The officers of the same corps at Allahabâd, being on duty in a frontier garrison, concluded they were as much upon actual service as those employed in the field, and therefore concurred with the resolution of the Korah detachment. Such was the purport of the answer sent to the third brigade, with a request that it might be communicated to by them to the first. This state of neutrality, however, was not long preserved: the sentiments of honour in the second brigade soon gave way to the general infatuation, as if the number of actors sufficiently justified the action; and these gentlemen who in the beginning were restrained by some degree of principle, grew in the end as outrageous, and went even greater lengths than either of the other two brigades.

In each brigade a committee of correspondence was appointed, with full authority to answer all letters that might come from their associates, and to agree to, as well as to propose, such measures as they should think proper. Near two hundred commissions of captains and subalterns were in a short time collected, and lodged in the hands of the adjutants and quarter-masters, in order to be delivered to the commanding officers of the respective

pective brigades, on the first of June, which was the day fixed upon for the general resignation; though, to give a colour of moderation to their proceedings, they determined to make an offer of their services as volunteers till the 15th of the same month, by which time they imagined a final answer might be obtained from lord Clive, or the select committee, in their favour.

All officers upon detached parties, of whom there were a considerable number, in various and distant parts of the country, were written to by their particular friends, or in the name of the brigade to which they belonged, earnestly pressing them to enter into the combination, and not to divulge the affair. With regard to those who were present doing duty with their respective brigades, they bound themselves by a solemn oath to secrecy, and kept it so strictly, that even the field officers upon the spot entertained not the least suspicion of what was going forward: they were likewise sworn to preserve, even at the hazard of their own lives, the life of any officer whom the rigour of the court-martial might condemn to death. But in order as far as possible, to avoid incurring the penalties of mutiny and desertion, they determined to refuse their usual advance of pay for the month of June.

As an expedient to prevent any recantation in this conspiracy, each officer bound himself in a penalty bond of five hundred pounds not to re-accept his commission, if offered, except upon condition of having the allowance of double batta restored: and, to obviate the misfortune of Lord Clive's proving so resolute as to reject their demands,

mands, a subscription was raised among themselves, each subscribing in proportion to his rank; besides which, a considerable sum is said to have been contributed privately by gentlemen in the civil service, in aid of the military cause. These monies, together with such forfeitures of the five hundred pounds penalty above mentioned as might be incurred and levied, were to establish a fund for the maintainance of those who stood in need of it, in case all the commissions should be accepted, or of those who might be pointed out as principals, and dismissed the service, even though the army in general should be requested to resume their commissions, and the double batta be re-established upon its former footing, by the same means the expences of their voyage to Europe were to be defrayed, and commissions of equal rank purchased in the king's regiments; to which they never supposed their mode of relinquishing the company's service would prove the least obstruction. The plot was thus ripening, when a circumstance occurred, which could not but inspire them with additional hopes of success, since it seemed to prognosticate for the service of at least one entire brigade, about the very same time fixed upon for the general resignation. The circumstance alluded to, was the sudden approach of between fifty and sixty thousand Morattoes towards the frontiers of Korah, about one hundred and sixty miles from Allahabad; at all events, however, it was judged expedient, that Colonel Smith, with the whole of the second brigade (except the European regiment, which it was not thought proper to risque in the field during the excessive

successive heats of April and May, and which therefore was left to dogarrison duty at Allahabad) should take post at Scragepore, where he was accordingly ordered to encamp, and observe the motions of the suspected army.

Such was the situation of affairs in March 1766, when Lord Clive and General Carnac set out from Calcutta, in order to regulate, with Mr. Sykes, (resident at the nabob's court) the collections of the revenue, at Muxadavid and Patna, for the year ensuing; to receive from Sujah Dowlah the balance due of the fifty lacks of rupees (six hundred thousand pounds) stipulated by treaty in August 1765; and to hold a congress with those princes of the empire who were desirous of forming alliances to preserve themselves and the company from the incursions of the Murrattoes.

Lord Clive arrived early in April 1766, at Muxadavid, and was now adjusting the state of the revenues of Bengal, which was to compleat his business at the city, when he received a letter dated the 19th of that month, from Mr. Verelst, a gentleman in council at Calcutta, inclosing a remonstrance from the officers of the third brigade, relative to the reduction of the batta; representing in very exaggerated terms the high price of provisions, necessaries, &c. and requesting that the late double allowance might be continued. The board thought proper to defer sending an answer to this until they could obtain Lord Clive's sentiments thereupon. He, without delay, communicated his opinion to Mr. Verelst, that the remonstrance, if it had not been transmitted

mitted through the commanding officer; nor accompanied with a letter to the governor and council, should be sent to colonel Sir Robert Barker for his information, acquainting him at the same time, that the board did not intend to take any other cognizance of a paper so irregularly brought before them. But, lest it might have been regularly transmitted, Lord Clive proposed in that case, that an answer should be sent, similar to that already given to the like remonstrances, which had been made when the orders for striking off the batta were issued. With this addition, however, that it was observed, the paper was subscribed by several lieutenants of the seapoy battalions, who have each an extra allowance of two rupees per diem, which, with their pay and single batta (amounting in the whole to two hundred and forty-eight rupees, or thirty pounds fifteen shillings and two-pence farthing sterling per month) could not be deemed an uncomfortable subsistence.

Although a table of the price of provisions and European articles cannot with any precision be ascertained, yet it may not be improper to remark, that the former are much cheaper in Bengal than on the coast of Coromandel, where double batta was never known; that the latter are dearer only in proportion to the small difference of distance between those two places and Great Britain: and that the expence of transporting necessaries from Calcutta to any part of Bengal, cannot be so great as on the coast of Coromandel, because the whole country is intersected with navigable rivers. Luxury indeed is boundless; and hence

Hence arise the imaginary wants, and the real distresses, of officers on the Bengal establishment.

The distribution of pay and allowances will give a just idea of the advantages accruing to military gentlemen in the service of the English company in that part of India ; advantages much greater, it is presumed, than those of any other forces in any other part of the world. Hitherto no suspicion had arisen of the intended resignation, as even this last remonstrance was perfectly silent on that head.

It was not till the 28th of the same month (April) late in the evening, that Lord Clive received any advices whatsoever of the mutinous resolution that had been several months in agitation ; and it is to be observed, that the first information came from lieutenant-colonel Sir Robert Fletcher, who in a letter, dated Monghyr, 25th of April, acquainted his lordship, that the officers of the first brigade resolved on another attempt for the recovery of the batta ; that their commissions were to be sent to him at the end of the month, together with a letter, informing him, that they would not draw any pay for the month of May, but would continue to serve till the affair should be finally determined for or against them. To give a farther insight into the matter, he inclosed a letter he had the day before received from Sir Robert Barker, together with a copy of his answer. In the above-mentioned letter from Sir Robert Barker to Sir Robert Fletcher, is mentioned a quarrel between two officers at Bankipore ; their names were Duff and Davis ;

Davis ; the former a captain, the latter an ensign; in the third brigade.

At a general court-martial that had been held upon one of these gentlemen, in consequence of the setting fire to the quarters, it appeared, that the dispute arose from Ensign Davis's refusing to give up his commission to Captain Duff, who would have forced it from him. Sir Robert Barker, upon examining into the reason of so strange a transaction, to his great surprise, became acquainted with the combination which had been formed in the third brigade, during his absence on an expedition to Bettoa. This premature discovery very much disconcerted the officers, as the 1st of June had been fixed upon for the general resignation ; and it was not proposed, that their intentions should transpire before that day. It now however, became necessary for them to make some alteration in their plan, in order that Lord Clive, and the select committee, should not have time to counter-act and defeat it. The first and third brigade accordingly resolved to resign on the 1st of May ; but the second brigade, being at so great a distance, could not receive information of this change of measures early enough to resign on the same day, though the mutinous spirit broke out in camp within a week after.

The succeeding day's post to that which brought the intelligence from Sir Robert Fletcher to Lord Clive, brought a letter, dated from the camp, at Carah, the 15th of April, signed full batta, to an officer of the second brigade, who had attended his lordship from Calcutta, and was then with him at Mutjyl. The contents of this

very

Very extraordinary letter was immediately communicated to Lord Clive, who was now fully convinced that the combination was general; though he judged it was not likely that so considerable a number of thinking men should long continue unanimous in a cause, not only highly criminal in itself, but which, upon failure of success, would involve many of them in inevitable ruin. Some few there might be to whom comfortable fortunes, already acquired in the service, might render the resignation of their commissions a matter of indifference; but many, on the contrary, he knew there were, whose circumstances, whose youth, or whose extravagance, could not bear that they should voluntarily deprive themselves of the only means of present subsistence, and be also cut off from every prospect of obtaining a happy independency. How far indeed the resolution of men made desperate by disappointment and impending ruin might be carried, could not easily be determined: the troops might follow their example, and a general mutiny ensue. An armed force from the coast, or from England, would in that case, perhaps, have been the only remedy left; on the contrary, to grant a request, demanded, as it were, sword in hand, would have been a concession, not only repugnant to the character he had hitherto supported, and subversive of his authority as governor and commander in chief, but might have been attended with the worst of evils: for when threats in this instance should have been found successful, subordination and discipline would have been openly disavowed, demands of a more exorbitant and serious nature

might have followed; the civil government might at length have been totally overthrown by the military, and the very existence of the company in Bengal destroyed. Submission, therefore, on the part of Lord Clive, would not bear a moment's deliberation. He had a few officers in his service whom he could depend upon; a few others, he concluded, might be had from Calcutta, and the out factories; and some of the free merchants would, it was imagined, in case of necessity, accept of commissions. He determined likewise to leave the city as soon as the important business he was transacting would permit, and to endeavour to reach Monghyr before the 15th of May. By these means, he was in no doubt of being able to retain command over the soldiers, till a corps of officers could arrive from the presidency of Fort St. George.

Lord Clive, General Carnac, and Mr. Sykes, forming a committee, met in consultation on the morning of the 29th, and determining, that the demands of the army ought not to be complied with; dispatched an express to the council at Calcutta, requesting they would, without delay, acquaint the government of Madras with the disposition of the officers, and press them to issue orders to as many captains and subalterns, as could possibly be spared from immediate service on the coast of Coromandel; and likewise to such cadets, and others as might be thought qualified to bear council, to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Bengal on the shortest notice. The committee were unanimous in the measure suggested by the committee; and on the 1st of

May, sent off their dispatch to Fort St. George. General Gaillard was at this time gone to the northward to accommodate, either by negociation or force of arms, the disputes between the nabob of Arcot and the Subah of the Deccan; and as it might be necessary for the governor and council at Madrass to have his opinion, how far the request from Bengal could be complied with, Mr. Verelst transmitted to the general a copy of the last-mentioned letter, which proved the means of expediting the preparations for the supply required.

Lord Clive in the mean time, wrote to colonel Smith, Sir Robert Barker, and Sir Robert Fletcher, upon the subject of the association, inclosing to each a copy of the letter written by the committee to the council, that they might have full information of the measures that were intended to take place; at the same time, giving them authority to make public his sentiments if they were likely to have any good effect.

From this time to the second of May, no farther intelligence was received. The silence of colonel Smith and Sir Robert Barker, gave his lordship some hopes, as he expressed himself that day, in a letter to Mr. Verelst, "That the officers had mutually deliberated upon their scheme, and found it not very conveniently practicable"; adding, "I can hardly think, that seeing us steady in our resolution, they will venture to brave the consequences. The firmness with which we have hitherto supported our civil regulations, must leave them without a prospect of remissness in those of the military."

A few hours, however, brought him a letter from Sir Robert Barker, dated the 27th of April, which convinced him, that the third brigade was as unanimous as the first, in his answer he directed Sir Robert Barker, to find out, if possible, the person in whose hands the commissions were deposited, to put in arrest those officers whose conduct could come under the construction of mutiny, and to detain them prisoners at Bankipore, till a general court martial of field officers could be summoned, since a trial by their comrades would have been very ineffectual, and it was too evident that unless the severity of martial law were exerted to punish the principal instigators of this combination, there would soon be an end of discipline in the army, and of authority in the East India Company over all their servants.

The like instructions were at the same time sent to colonel Smith, and to Sir Robert Fletcher. In the postscript of these letters is mentioned a letter signed first brigade. It was addressed to captain Fred Smith, and Thomas Pearson, the one Aid de Camp, the other secretary to general Carnac, and the contents as follows.

" Gentlemen,

" We are now to inform you, that all the officers here, and those at Patna and Allahabad, (except a few, and those pumps to power too) have resolved to resign the service the first day of May next, unless the batti is restored to what it was in July and August 1763, and request that you will concur with us in refusing to serve but upon those terms.

This

This is no hasty ill conducted scheme, but the settled resolution of the three brigades, who are, to a man, resolved to send every officer to everlasting coventry, who refuses to join in a cause so just and honourable. We therefore beg, that you will, immediately upon receipt of this, transmit your sentiments to some of your friends here, who may communicate them to us. We further beg, that you will consider maturely on this subject, before you come to any resolution ; for depend upon it, we are determined to go through with it, at the risque of life, fortune, friends, and every thing that is dear and sacred.

The gentlemen at Moradbaug may be able to inform you of material circumstances. Till we have your answer, we are truly and sincerely,

Monghyr,
27 April 1766.

" Your friends,
" the first brigade."

The gentlemen at Moradbaug, mentioned in this letter, belonged to a considerable detachment doing duty at the city. They were all at this time deeply concerned in the combination ; but lord Clive being upon the spot, made them sensible of their folly, and prevented them from throwing up their commissions.

On the 29th of April, Sir Robert Barker wrote again to lord Clive, acquainting his lordship with his more full conviction of the determination of the officers, and with the measures he was pursuing, not only to shake it, but to prevent any alarming consequences, when it should come to an issue, although hitherto no disposition to mutiny had appeared

peared among the private men] of his brigade. This could not fail of giving satisfaction: but lord Clive was under some uneasiness on account of the garrison at Monghyr, where he had reason to think the whole scheme had been originally planned; and Sir Robert Fletcher's silence added much to his anxiety; for it was now the 4th of May and the only letter he had received from that gentleman upon that subject, was dated the 25th of April; he therefore thought proper to repeat his former injunctions, that Sir Robert Fletcher should inform himself of the names of the principals, and of as many particulars as possible relating to the association; directing him at the same time to take the most effectual means of securing the fidelity of the subahdars, or commanding officers of the black troops, in case the European soldiers, or the seapoys had betrayed any symptoms of disaffection; however, before these instructions were dispatched, a letter arrived from Sir Robert Fletcher, dated the first of May, inclosing one to him from 42 of his officers, together with a copy of his answer, and also a letter to him from Sir Robert Barker: the letter from the officers was accompanied by their commissions, which they requested Sir Robert would keep, till an answer should arrive from those who had the power of granting their demands; and in the mean time they assured him, that as they resigned from principle, they resolved to serve without pay of any kind till the 15th.

This actual resignation of the officers of the first brigade no longer permitted lord Clive to doubt, that the other two brigades would, with like punctuality

uality comply with the terms of the association A supply from Fort St George, and likewise the assistance of the merchants, became immediately necessary. The letter to the gentlemen of council, at Calcutta, inclosing the officers address to Sir Robert Fletcher, was therefore dispatched without delay. The next day, the 5th of May, a letter from Sir Robert Barker, dated the 30th of April, informed lord Clive, that on the 29th the officers of his brigade had made him acquainted with their resolution to resign their commissions on the first of May, though they were willing to serve without either pay or batta till the 15th, by which time they supposed lord Clive would reach Patna, or, write his answer to their demands.

Sir Robert Barker after having assembled the officers, represented to them, that the crime they were committing was no less than mutiny, a desertion, and that he hoped for their own sakes, they would reflect upon the consequences, and relinquish a project, which, if persisted in, would certainly be ruin and dishonour upon themselves.

Arguments of this kind, from a commanding officer universally beloved, could not fail making some impression on their minds, but at the close of the conference they declared, "That they were solemnly bound and engaged with the other brigades, to offer their commissions on the first of May, and that they could not be off."

Sir Robert Barker having been informed, that the men at Monghyr had expressed their resolution to mutiny, repeated to lord Clive his apprehensions of it, and mentioned also an information,

he had received, that a sum to the amount of 140,000 rupees, near (16,000. sterl.) was subscribed for the officers by the gentlemen of Calcutta.

These circumstances it was thought necessary to communicate to the council, not only that they might be apprized of the progress of the combination; but that they might exert their endeavours to discover those gentlemen in the civil service, who had granted such large encouragement to the mutinous disposition of the army.

Lord Clive then acquainted Sir Robert Fletcher with Sir Robert Barker's doubts concerning the men of the first brigade, charging him to act with all possible circumspection, and authorizing him to engage the attachment of the non commissioned officers by assurances of reward, if he should see a necessity of putting their behaviour to the test; he further directed him to make such necessary preparations as could be made without creating suspicion, for detaching the troops in small parties at a moments warning, and with the like caution to collect boats for conveying the officers to Calcutta, since he was determined, if he found them refractory, on his arrival at Monghyr, they should be forced to depart within twenty four hours. A letter of the same date, and to the same purpose, was also dispatched to Sir Robert Barker.

By a letter of the second of May, Sir Robert Fletcher acquainted lord Clive, that he was convinced no disturbance could happen, even if the troops knew the conduct of their officers; but that however, for the sake of amusement, and a fresh subject of conversation, he had marched half

e brigade to the distance of two miles from the fort, under pretence of reducing some strong mounds at Carracpoor.

In answer to this, lord Clive ordered him immediately to secure the captains who had been most active, and to send them down prisoners to Calcutta.

The sentiments of the officers of the third brigade, who were absent upon detachments, were not certainly known; but between fifty and sixty of those present, in cantonment at Bankipore, kept strictly to their engagement.

On the first of May in the forenoon, Sir Robert Barker received the following laconic epistle from his adjutant;

SIR,

"The inclosed letters were just now brought to me; one of them, directed to you; I send by desire of the officers of the third brigade, the other, I believe, you will think not improperly added.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
May 1, 1766.

F. Robertson, adjutant."

The letter directed to Sir Robert Barker, which Mr. Robertson enclosed (and which Sir Robert returned with an assurance that he would put the severity of military law in execution, if any man should misbehave) was signed; officers of the third brigade, it contained a repetition of their grievances,

ces, and terms of future service ; some expression of personal regard for the colonel, and a readiness to act as volunteers, and obey orders, till the 15th of the month, when they expected to be made acquainted with lord Clive's definitive answer.

The other letter which Mr. Robertson mention'd to be not improperly added, was the pacquet of commissions, together with his authority for sending them ; which was as follows :

To Ensign Robertson.

" SIR,

" We desire that you will, before twelve o'clock to-day, send our commissions to Sir Robert Barker, colonel of the third brigade, together with the inclosed letter.

We are,

May 1st, 1766.
Eleven o'clock.

Your obedient servant

Officers of the 3d brigade.

Sir Robert Barker had, before this, suspected but was not sufficiently certain, that the adjutor was a principal and active member of the association. He therefore intimated to him that day up'the parade, that he should order him down to Calcutta ; in consequence of which intimation, Mr. Robertson thought fit to write him the following letter.

" SIR,

" I did not well understand what last you spoke to
me on the parade, whether it was, that you meant
to send me a prisoner to Calcutta, or that you ex-
pected I would go because you desired it. If the
first, 'tis well ; if the latter, I must acquaint you
that I, without having done any thing unmilitary
& improper, resigned the service this morning,
leaving myself from military orders, you accep-
ted, examined, but chose to return the commissi-
ons ; amongst which mine was one. If I have
done wrong, I must be brought before the civil
power, having freed myself from all military re-
strictions.

To leave this immediately will be to lose all I
am worth ; so that it will be necessary to send me
a prisoner, that I may know where to apply here-
after for restitution.

I am, SIR,

Your obedient humble servant.

F. Robertson."

This letter did not intimidate Sir Robert Barker
from forcing Mr. Robertson, and three others
to proceed immediately to Calcutta ; a meas-
ure which contributed much to the preserving
good order and discipline in his brigade till the
15th of May.

As the affairs of the army were now become very
critical, Lord Clive determined to leave the busi-
ness at the city unfinished, to the management o

Mr

Mr Sykes, and to march with all possible expedition to Monghyr, which place he proposed reaching on the 14th.

On the evening of the 6th, he accordingly set out from Mutajyl, accompanied by general C. nac, and the few officers belonging to the body guard and an escort of seapoys

Majors Champion and Pouter, and captains Smith, Pearson, and Martin, who were all the officers that could be collected at so short notice and whose attachment to the service, as well as steady adherence to discipline, might securely be relied on, were ordered forward, to proceed with the utmost haste to the assistance of Sir Robert Fletcher

Lord Clive, that night, at Sydokbaug 12 miles from Mutajyl, received a letter from Sir Robert Fletcher, dated 3d May, acquainting him, that, "That he had used every argument in his power to persuade the officers to a change of conduct, but that they had severally told him, they were determined to abide by what they had done" By an inclosed letter to his brother, a captain at Madras, (open for his lordship's perusal) it appeared, that the gentlemen intended to write to their military friends at Fort St. George, to prevail upon them to reject all proposals that might be made for their removal to Bengal

This scheme was evidently calculated to bring additional distress upon the government, and thence to compel Lord Clive into terms of accommodation. But in order to counteract the meditated mischief, a letter was immediately dispatched to the council at Calcutta, requesting they would,

for a time stop all private letters to and from Madras, except such as could not be suspected to relate to the combination ; and, as a communication of sentiments, from one part of the army to another, might at this juncture prove extremely dangerous ; it was further proposed, that the like caution should be used at the post-office at Calcutta.

During the next day's journey, lord Clive had an account from Sir Robert Fletcher, that he had again remonstrated to no purpose with the gentlemen of his brigade ; that they were rather more inflamed ; that they flattered themselves their letters to Madras would have the desired effect ; and that it was now artfully insinuated, a mutiny of the men was already planned, and inevitably happen, if the officers should be dismissed. A copy of this letter together with his lordship's answer is an extract of a letter from lord Clive to Sir Robert Barker, the 8th of May.

The day following, lord Clive learnt from Sir Robert Fletcher, that he had sent to Calcutta a captain and lieutenant, upon suspicion of their having been the most active in forming the combination ; but that he was perswaded every precaution had been used to conceal the principals. The gentlemen however of this brigade, as well as of the third, still continued to their duty, though their resolution in the main point was not altered ; and by the conversation of the latter, Sir Robert Barker understood, that upon his refusing to accept their commissions, they had sent them by the post to Calcutta ; nor was he deceived, for on the second day of March, lord Clive met an express with

..... a very large pacquet, addressed to the governor and council, which upon being opened was found to contain the commissions of that brigade, together with a general letter of resignation, dated the 1st of May. Lord Clive detained the commissions in his own custody, and forwarded the letter to the board.

During these transactions the council at the presidency had received and taken into consideration the committee's dispatch of the fourth. The association of the officers being fully confirmed, and those of the first brigade having actually tendered their commissions, the board unanimously resolved, agreeable to an intimation given them by lord Clive, that a letter should be written to Sir Robert Fletcher, or the officer commanding at Monghyr, expressing their sense of such an extraordinary and unwarrantable proceeding; authorising him to accept of as many commissions as were offered, and to order down to Calcutta, within the space of twenty-four hours, every man who had resigned the service; since no confidence could prudently be placed in the zeal of those who had deserted their duty, in a manner so inconsistent with the character of officers and gentlemen. They farther resolved, that the said letter should be transmitted through the hands of lord Clive and general Carnac, in order that it might have the sanction of their names; and that an express should be sent to the presidencies, of Madras and Bombay, urging the necessity of their united efforts to assist Bengal in this emergency, and requesting they would, without loss of time, embark all the officers, cadets, and others, that could possibly be

spared, agreeable to the former letters from that board. In the mean time the council, in consequence of the request of the committee applied to the free merchants, requiring them to give their assistance on the present defection of officers till the vacant commissions could be filled up. Astonishing as it may appear, it is however an incontestible truth, that out of near 100 of these gentlemen resident at Calcutta, neither dis-qualified by age nor infirmities, two only were found who would accept of commissions, upon this very important occasion, notwithstanding they knew that the service, that they were to be sent upon was merely parade duty ; that even this would last but a few weeks ; and that the faith of the governor and council was pledged to allow them the privilege of trade duty free ; and to re-commend them to the court of directors for a more essential reward to the company's welfare ; the trifling excuses made by so considerable a number of those gentlemen, amounted at least to an approbation of the conduct of the officers, if it did not confirm the truth of the information, that a subscription was raised in Calcutta for the support of the military combination.

On the 10th of May, Lord Clive and General Carnac received at Siecaragutty, the letter from the council to the officer commanding at Monghyr ; this they immediately signed and dispatched to Sir Robert Fletcher, with some private instructions for his conduct, upon the receipt of it, a copy of it was at the same time sent to Sir Robert Barker, that he might intimate to the officers of the third brigade, the unanimous opinion of the board upon

upon the proceedings of those of the first. On the 11th a letter arrived from colonel Smith, dated the 29th of April, advising, that a considerable detachment of the Maratta's army was in motion; that they had advanced down the Southern shore of the Jumna, opposite to the territories of Korah; and that Ballagarow, one of the chief, with sixty thousand horse, was arrived at Culpy, where he was collecting a large number of boats. This letter was addressed to the select committee; but the critical situation of affairs would admit of no delay in the reply; and the colonel was evidently yet unacquainted with the desertion of his officers.

Lord Clive therefore hesitated not to invest him with full authority to act, in respect to forming alliances with neighbouring princes, in such manner as the emergency of affairs might require. And as the resignation of his officers, at the time of the enemy's nearer approach, might be attended with the most fatal consequences, his lordship empowered the colonel provided he should judge that the troops were ripe for mutiny, and thereby find himself reduced to the utmost extremity, but under no other circumstances whatsoever, to make terms with the malecontents.

This day and the next Lord Clive received farther accounts from Sir Robert Fletcher, expressing the highest opinion of the fidelity of his troops, insomuch that, "He would stake his life upon their good behaviour, notwithstanding the apprehensions entertained by Sir Robert Barker." He observed, that the worst which could happen was a mutiny amongst the Europeans, who were so

so inconsiderable a number, that he would put every man of them to death by the seapoys, before they could get a cartridge from the magazine ; or indeed before they could form themselves under arms, his own quarters being so near the barracks, that he could almost overhear every thing that passed.

Confident as these assurances was, lord Clive thought it expedient to pursue his journey with the utmost expedition ; although the heat at this season of the year was so insupportable, that many of the men had already died upon the march ; but it was necessary to reach Monghyr, if possible, before the departure of the officers ; and he was now within one day's journey of the place, when early in the morning of the 13th, his progress was delayed by a sudden fall of waters from the mountains, which carried away a bridge that had been thrown over a branch of the river he was obliged to pass ; the stream of which was now so extremely deep and rapid, that it could not be forded, even by elephants, till late in the evening. A whole day was thus unavoidably lost : repeated advices however, from Sir Robert Fletcher flattered his lordship, that no disturbance could happen among the troops in garrison : he hoped indeed that the officers would remain quiet till his arrival ; but at all events Sir Robert could not now be much distressed, as the gentlemen who pushed forward from Mutajyl was already arrived to his assistance, and the letter from the governor and council contained sufficient instructions for his conduct. On the 14th, Sir Robert informed his lordship, that he had begun the embarkation of the captains, and had appointed a surgeon's assistant, two cadets, and a serjeant, to act as ensigns, in order to con-

vince the subalterns that the brigade would not be entirely destitute of officers. Soon after upon the receipt of lord Clive's letter of the 13th, he invited the gentlemen to duty a day longer : but some of them began now to be very troublesome ; and appeared to intend encamping till the arrival of their associates from the other brigades.

The description of affairs at Monghyr, has at this period been collected from Sir Robert Fletcher. It may, however, be not improper to take a view of them from the officers who were detached thither from Moolajyb.

On the arrival of these gentlemen at Monghyr the 12th of May, about nine o'clock at night they were surprised to hear the grenadier's march beating, at then the reveille, when they came to Sir Robert Fletcher's quarters, they there found half the European regiment assembled, and singing and the drummers beating.

The next day they severally visited the officers of their acquaintance in hopes of prevailing upon them to relinquish the dishonourable project they had so rashly engaged in, or at least to continue doing duty till the arrival of lord Clive and general Carnac.

They represented the infamy and ruin that would attend them, if they should in this manner desert the service : that a combination to resign their commissions all on the same day, could be considered as no less a crime than mutiny : and if the soldiers should be tempted to follow their example, the mischief would not end without bloodshed, and the murder of many of their countrymen : that lord Clive came firmly resolved not to yield up the point to them, and would rather suffer death

'Death than condescend to make terms with a set of men who were endeavouring to abolish all military discipline and subordination. They farther remonstrated upon the ingratitude of their behaviour to his lordship, who had already given to the amount of near 70,000l as a fund for the support of all officers and men who should be invalided, or worn out in the service, and likewise for the maintenance of the widows.

In answer to these arguments the officers declared, That they were solemnly bound to quit the brigade, whatever might be the consequence, that they had imagined unanimity in the measure must have ensured success, but that could they have supposed lord Clive so inflexible, they would never have formed the combination. That as to his lordship's generous donation to the army, they were entirely ignorant of it, Sir Robert Fletcher not having communicated to them a syllable of the matter, and that had they been informed of it, gratitude, as well as self interest, would certainly prevented their present conduct. They then alledged that Sir Robert himself originally set this combination on foot, artfully making them the instruments of an opposition to lord Clive's government, they acknowledged the probability of a mutiny amongst the soldiers, but declared at the same time, that should it happen, they would exert their utmost endeavours to quell it. Several of them, particularly captain Goddard, lamented the want of an opportunity to acquaint lord Clive and general Carnac with the part Sir Robert Fletcher had acted, in beginning and promoting this unfortunate ill, but desired major Champion, and captain Smith and Purson, would not fail to report

port their assertions, the truth of which they said they were well able to prove.

On the 13th major Champion and captain Pearson were ordered out to the camp of Curaopore, two miles from Monghyr fort. The rest of lord Clive's detachment of officers remained in garrison, to be ready in case of a mutiny of the Europeans, which began now to be apprehended. At eleven o'clock at night, two battalions of sepoys were marched, under command of captain Smith, to the exercising-ground, where they lay upon their arms till morning ; when the captain proposed to Sir Robert Fletcher, that they should return to their own parade, not only as it commanded the principal gates, but as detachments could be more readily made from thence to different parts of the garrison ; and that in order to obviate any suspicion, it should be given out, that lord Clive being hourly expected, it was necessary to keep the sepoys in the fort, least they should straggle, and not quickly drawn up on his lordship's arrival. This advice was immediately followed.

In the afternoon captain Smith received an order from Sir Robert Fletcher to get the two battalions, under arms and to march with all possible expedition to the European barracks, the soldiers having mutinied, the captain had neither subaltern nor serjeant to assist him. One of the resigned officers happening at that moment to come on the parade, the captain ordered him to take the command of one of the battalions; but finding that he hesitated to obey, he turned from him, and gave the command of it to a black commandant, taking charge of the other himself.

As the mutiny was not unexpected, he had previously taken a view of the ground near the barracks. Adjoining to these is a hill, whereon stands the saluting battery, which he was apprehensive the mutineers would endeavour to seize; to avoid any signal of his approach, he gave orders that the battalions should march in the profoundest silence.. Instead of proceeding the common road, round the hill, he got up the back of it, and suddenly took possession of the battery, by which means he had the full command of all the barracks, the soldiers had actually got under arms, intending to follow their officers, and the artillery were preparing to do the same; but the appearance of these two battalions of seapoys, with fixed bayonets, threw them into confusion, of which captain Smith took the advantage, and told them he would immediately fire upon them, if they did not retire peaceably to their quarters. Sir Robert Fletcher also, who was now arrived, harangued and distributed money amongst the mutineers, and gave likewise to each of them two rupees. They assured him, they had been made to believe that he was to head them, otherwise not a man of them would have thought of turning out; adding that, if, that was not the case, they would not mind their officers, but live and die with him alone. While Sir Robert was talking to the men, several of the officers came and told him, that as they heard the Europeans had mutinied they were willing to offer him their assistance. This he refused, and ordered them all to quit the garrison, within the space of two hours, under pain of being sent off with guards. Before six o'clock they accordingly departed; three only of the whole brigade were left, two of whom were then confined to their beds.

beds. Sir Robert Fletcher's own account of this last transaction, appears in his letter of that night to Lord Clive, in which is the following very extraordinary paragraph :

" Some have been very troublesome, and particularly those whom I have all along suspected, and whose confidence I used every art to gain in January last, when I heard that the whole were to form a plan of quitting the brigades without giving any warning, I even went so far as to approve of some of their schemes, that they might do nothing without my knowledge."

After perusal of this, it will naturally be recollect ed that the earliest intelligence given by Sir Robert Fletcher, of the combination of his officers, was in his letter to lord Clive dated the 25th of April, six days only before the day of resignation. In the morning of the 15th of May, lord Clive and general Carnac arrived at Monghyr, where they were immediately informed of all the circumstances above related; Sir Robert Fletcher the same day took an opportunity, in conversation with lord Clive, to repeat the matter of his letter to his lordship of the 14th of May above quoted, but upon this subject, lord Clive for reasons which will hereafter be mentioned, did not think proper at that time to express any dissatisfaction. Orders were issued that night for the whole brigade to be drawn out the next day, lord Clive intending to review them. Early in the morning of the 16th he accordingly went to the parade, where the men appeared in very good order, though very thinly officered. The European soldiers required his first attention; he therefore addressed him self

self to them in the strongest terms: he represented to them the heinousness of the crime their officers had committed: explained to them the ground upon which the dissatisfaction had arisen; informed them that the double batta was merely an occasional extraordinary allowance, and never till now looked upon, much less demanded, as a right; that the withholding it was an act of the company, the governor and council therein only obeyed the positive commands of the court of directors; that the combination which the gentlemen of this battalion had formed, to resign the service altogether on the same day, was no less a crime than mutiny, for which, the ringleaders would certainly undergo the severest punishments that martial law could inflict; and the most of the inferior offenders should be sent away to England by the first ships of the ensuing season:--he further observed to them, that he was himself a soldier, and had always been a friend to the army; and he had lately given a very strong instance of his regard both to the officers and private men, having establishing a fund for the support of all those who should be invalided, or worn out; and also to the widows of those who should die in the service. He concluded with exhorting them to behave with regularity and sobriety, and to do their duty as soldiers should, till the arrival of officers, who were then on the road to Monghyr.

He then spoke by an Interpreter to the several battalions of black troops, and highly applauded them for the instance they had so lately given of their steadiness and faithful attachment to the company;

pany ; he distributed honorary rewards to the several commandants, and non-commissioned officers, and ordered double pay to be issued to the private men for the months of May and June, the whole brigade was much pleased with these marks of regard from the commander in chief ; expressed their satisfaction and gratitude with decent acclamations, and when they were dismissed from the parade retired without tumult and disturbance to their quarters.

A detachment of the sepoys was the next day sent out in quest of the resigned officers, who were now encamped within a few miles of Monghyr, intending to wait the arrival of their associates from the brigades, and consult together upon the unexpected defeat they had already met with. Lord Clive suspecting their intentions, gave orders that they should immediately proceed to Calcutta and assured them that if they did not depart quietly the detachment should convey them away by force. This message had the desired effect, and the detachment soon returned to the garrison, with an account that the Malcontents having divided themselves into small parties, were all gone towards the presidency, some by water and some by land. Several subalterns from the out factories, who had not joined in the combination, and who had received lord Clive's orders to repair to Monghyr, were by this time arrived, and ten or twelve others expected in a few days from Calcutta.

Affairs being thus happily settled at Monghyr, lord Clive and general Carnac resolved to proceed on the 17th to Patna, from whence they could the more easily convey assistance to colonel Smith,

whose

whose critical situation required their principal attention. In the mean time, they sent forward a few officers to Sir Robert Barker, with orders, in case their presence should not be absolutely necessary at Bankipore, to march with all possible expedition to Allahabad, where they would receive further orders from colonel Smith.

Neither the officers nor the men at Bankipore behaved in so tumultuous a manner as those at Monghyr. The resignation indeed took place at the same time ; but a much greater proportion of officers remained with Sir Robert Barker than with Sir Robert Fletcher, as so much cooler had they grown upon reflection, that many more would have returned to their duty, had they not been apprehensive that some of the ringleaders would be called to account by a court-martial ; at which those that retracted might be obliged to officiate, contrary to the oath that had bound them to protect the lives of each other. As to his European regiments, it consisted chiefly, of new recruits who shewed not the least disposition to be troublesome. His chief deficiency was in artillery officers. He therefore took the command of that corps himself, and likewise a battalion of seapoys. Lieutenant colonel Chapman an officer of great experience and address was very instrumental in preventing a total desertion of subalterns, and in preserving discipline amongst the Europeans in the cantonments, whilst major Grant took charge of a considerable division of the brigade, which Sir Robert Barker had prudently detached upon the first information he received of the intended resignation.

It is now time to give an account of the transactions at camp in the lines of Serajapore, under the command of colonel Smith, who being in a very critical situation, at the eve as it was imagined of a battle, and at a great distance from that relief which the other brigades might obtain, laboured under peculiar difficulties.

On the 6th of May all the officers in camp, two only excepted, wrote to the colonel, for leave to resign their commissions, some demanding their discharge immediately, others on the first of June. His astonishment at this extraordinary conduct, and the resolution he immediately express'd in his letter to the select committee and his general orders issued out that day, of which the following are copies:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ With surprize and concern I acquaint you, that the major part of the officers of this detachment have wrote to me for leave to resign their commissions : some have demanded their discharge immediately, others at the expiration of the month. I transmit you a copy of the orders of the day, which will shew in lively colours my opinion of this transaction : In the mean time, I request your immediate answer concerning this event, with your instructions,

The officers of the garrison at Allahabad have also signed a request of the same nature ; but, as it was smuggled to me, without coming through the proper channel I shall return it to them ; however it serves to convince me that this is a general disaffection,

If all the officers of this detachment had determined to turn about on their colours, it should have had no effect upon my measures. The field and some two or three others who have not forgot what they owe to their own honour, must exert themselves with more alacrity.

I have the honour to subscribe myself, with much respect, &c.

Camp in the lines of Richard Smith,
Serajapore, 6th May 1766..

General orders given out by colonel Smith at the camp in the lines of Serajapore, 6th May 1766.

" The colonel cannot find words sufficient to express his astonishment at the conduct of all those officers who have applied to him for leave to quit the service at this particular juncture, as a time when an enemy's army, and that army so numerous, is encamped at no great distance from us. This is a behaviour so foreign to every thing that has the least connection with honour, that the colonel blushes to find his country-men can so readily sacrifice their own reputation to any private views or considerations whatsoever: when these honourable motives have no longer any influence, the service of such officers is by no means desirable. Captains Scott and Auchmuty, captain lieutenants Clifton and Black, lieutenant Elleker, and ensign Maverley, having desired leave to resign, are ordered to proceed to Calcutta directly. All those officers who have been pleased to fix the first of June as the period of their services, shall have an answer before that day: in the mean time, the colonel cannot but remark,

remark, that those officers who have requested leave to resign their commissions, have set a most extraordinary example to the black troops, and the colonel by their conduct, will be reduced to the necessity of placing that confidence in the fidelity of the black officers, which hitherto had been properly reposed in the zeal of his fellow countrymen

Richard Smith"

Colonel Smith's letter accompanied with a copy of the above orders, came to Lord Clive's hands on the morning of his arrival at Monghyr:

On the 7th of May colonel Smith received the following letter from the officers in camp:

To colonel Richard Smith, commander in chief, &c.

" SIR,

" When aspersions, unmerited, ungenerous and unjust, are publickly cast, with evident intentions to blacken the reputation of a corps, who have by length of service, and the most ardent zeal, eminently distinguished themselves for their beloved country, the honourable company, and their own honour; and who have repeatedly been witness to the variety of endeavouring, by representing the most submissive and most consistent with the character they are determined to maintain, of hoping the least redress or prospect of relief from grievances insupportable to their minds, it behoveth them, in vindication of themselves, to make this public testimonial, that neither the supposed enemy, which they

they despise, nor the design of injuring their honourable masters, which they hold dear; has the least tendency, nor was the smallest motive conclusive to the request of any individual of this corps, for liberty to resign the service, which, with the utmost regret, they are compelled to relinquish for that happiness, which is the only end of their being in more hospitable climates.

When even hopes are annihilated here, can it therefore be expected, that any ties can be more binding than the ties of nature; or that freedom, and the desire of that liberty we inherit from our fathers, can be denominated dishonour or reproach? But, though firmly assured of the justice and probity of our proceedings as individuals, we cannot behold, without something more than sorrow, the public orders of the 6th instant, which, as they can be productive of no compunction in minds satisfied with themselves, we humbly think that whatever part of them was intended to stigmatise us with dishonour, had much better been omitted: as this is a point every gentleman will find too hard to reconcile to his own breast, we are sorry we are obliged to give this instance of gratitude to the service, at the peril of losing that honour, which, than life, is to a soldier more dear.

In the mean time we will adhere to our duty, in the manner each has signified for himself; but to continue service without confidence; yea, without honour, as by imputation we are at present supposed, were, in reality, to be what we are thought, and to merit what we do not deserve; we desire therefore that this may be forwarded to the honourable

nourable president and council, that by no misrepresentations we may yet suffer in their esteem; and are still, with the greatest respect,-

Sir,

7th May,
1766.

Your most obedient,
Humble servants,

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| David Scott, Capt. | James Nicols, Capt. |
| A. Forbes Auchmuthy, do. | William Fenwick, " |
| Ch. Clifton, Capt. Lieut. | John Jones, Lieut. |
| Alex. Black, ditto. | G. B. Eyres, Lieut. |
| E. Ellerherz, Lieut. | Richard Rice, Ensign, |
| C. Maverly, Ensign | Matt Nail, 2d Lieut. |
| Alex. Dowe, Capt. | Henry Lidele, Lieut. |
| John Buckley, Ensign | Dennis Fieldhouse, Enf. |
| Robert Brook, Lieut. | Daniel Dow, Ensign |
| Wm. Vertue. Lieut. | Gabt. Harper, Lieut. |
| Wm. Benton, Lieut. | Gabl. Johnstone, Enf. |

To this the colonel returned the following answer:

General Orders. Camp in the Line of Serrajepore, May 8th, 1766.

" As the first point of honour in all officers of the army should be fidelity to the state they serve, so no private considerations can exculpate or extenuate the conduct of those officers, who can so far forget their duty as to form an association against their superiors; more especially at a time when the troops are employed, and possibly actual service may happen; the colonel is therefore inviolable in his opinion, and thinks such conduct is foreign to every thing that has the least connection

sion with honour ; for this reason, those officers that fixed so short a period to their services, were promised an answer before the end of the month. The colonel has received a letter, signed by the major part of the detachment. When officers forget what they owe to their own honour, and the public service, the colonel is by no means surprised they should forget the respect due to him ; therefore as Captains Dow and Nicols, lieutenants Lyre, Benton, and Jones, had acquainted the colonel with their intentions to resign at the end of this month, he now directs those officers to proceed without delay to Calcutta.

RICH. SMITH."

In the afternoon of the day whereon this last general order was issued, Lieutenant Vertue came to Colonel Smith, and desired leave to resign his commission immediately. The colonel told him, that by the general order of the 6th, he was promised an answer before the end of the month, and that he certainly should have an answer before the expiration of that period ; but that he would not permit him to resign. After some altercation, Lieutenant Vertue told the colonel, that if he would not accept his commission, he should be under the necessity of having it with him : he accordingly laid down his commission upon the table, acquainted the colonel he had done so, and took his leave. Colonel Smith finding the lieutenant had actually left the camp, took the necessary measures for his being apprehended, that he might be brought to trial for disobedience of orders and desertion ; he was accordingly put in arrest

arrest on his arrival at Patna. The sentence passed upon him by the general court-martial will be hereafter mentioned.

Colonel Smith, on receipt of Lord Clive's letters of the 29th of April and 2d of May, made public his lordship's sentiments, together with those of the committee, in their letter to the council at Calcutta; and recommended to Major Smith the officer commanding at Allahabad, to use his utmost influence to bring the officers in garrison to a proper sense of their duty, giving to them at the same time the following remonstrance from himself upon the subject.

To the Captains and Subalterns of the Second Regiment of Infantry, in garrison at Allahabad.

" Gentlemen;

" If the public service could possibly dispense with my absence from the camp, most assuredly I would repair to Allahabad, for I cannot read your letter to me, wherein you declare your intentions of resigning your commissions, without feeling the utmost concern. As I cannot therefore assemble you together in person, I must take this method of offering my sentiments. I intreat you, gentlemen, for your own honour, for my honour, and for the honour of the regiment, to weigh well this matter; view it, I beseech you, divested of prejudice, and suffer not yourselves to be trifled with against your better judgment. I have transmitted Major Smith, the commanding officer,

fficer at Allahabad, the fixed determination of Lord Clive and the committee, with some other papers relative to this matter which lie will communicate you. It is impossible for me to see, without the most alarming reflections, all those inevitable consequences which must ensue, if you persist in this improper measure. I conjure you not wantonly to abandon your fair prospects in this service; and as I have not yet transmitted your request to the committee, I cannot receive a juster satisfaction than a desire from you to suppress it.

"To my situation in the field you are no strangers; let me but again hear you are steady in your duty, and I shall send orders for many of you to join me with the utmost expedition, that if the enemy should attempt to enter these provinces we may share the honour of defeating their intentions.

With real regard, I am,
Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

RICH. SMITH."

Head Quarters in the
Lines of Serrajepore,
May 12, 1766.

This letter, instead of prevailing on the officers to proceed no farther in their unmilitary resolutions, served only to exasperate them the more, and drew from them the following intemperate reply:

To Colorel Richard Smith.

" SIR,

" Your letter addressed to us, and that of the honourable committee to the council, have been made public to us by the major this morning; and we are no ways surprised, that after the infamy you have endeavoured to brand us with in the order of the 6th of May, you should entertain the mean opinion of us, that we should be frightened from any resolution we have already testified to the public. The temerity of an order of this kind is what principally surprised us, as we can conceive no good end it would answer to the service while opposite consequences may be evident. You have therefore put it out of our power to render the honourable company those voluntary services we had before offered, so that we are come to a final determination of proceeding downwards, as we plainly perceive by your not transmitting our letter to the council, that we are trifled with, and are unanimously resolved to set out for Calcutta the 20th instant.

We are, SIR,

With due respect,

The Gentlemen of the 2d regiment."

Upon this new declaration, that they would not continue to serve after the 20th, Major Smith found himself in a very disagreeable situation, every captain and every subaltern of the European regiment, Lieutenant Delasfield only excepted,

cepted,' were concerned in the combination, and many of them behaved in such a disrespectful and turbulent manner, as convinced him they were, rather inclined to promote than discourage a mutiny of the men.

Their letter to the colonel, above quoted, was by the major deemed of so insolent a nature, that he intended to have put them all in arrest, but he was informed, that if he did, they would make the soldiers take up arms against him, as they had already engaged the men in their cause. Under these circumstances he judged it necessary to dispatch an express to Serrajepore for an old battalion of seapoys which he had long commanded, and whose behaviour he knew might be relied on in any case of emergency. This battalion, under the command of Lieutenant Brooke, performed the march with surprising expedition : in two days and six hours they reached Allahabad, which is one hundred miles distant from the lines of Serrajepore, arriving several hours before the time fixed upon by the officers for evacuating the garrison. Major Smith had by this time brought several to a more proper sense of their duty, and they all agreed to serve, according to their first proposal, to the end of the month. This moderation of temper did not however remain general. On the 22d, Lieutenant Monsell, and Ensign North, came to him as deputies from the corps, desiring to dismiss Lieutenant Peek from the employment of adjutant, and to turn him away from his table ; and when the major desired to know the reason of this mutinous unsoldier-like message, they replied, that Mr. Peek had retracted

tracted from his engagement with them, and was no longer a man of honour. Major Smith, enraged at this additional instance of disaffection, immediately confined Lieutenant Monsell and Ensign North; and ordered Lieutenant Delafield and Lieutenant Brooke to get the eighth battalion under arms. He then went himself and put all the officers in garrison in arrest, except four; telling them he expected they should in less than an hour make a proper submission for the affront they had offered to his authority; and that if they presumed to break their arrest, or attempted to raise any disturbance in the fort, the seapoys should have orders to put every one of them to death. This spirited behaviour produced immediate submission, and he soon released them all, except the gentlemen of the deputation, and four others, whom he thought proper to send prisoners to Patna.

While the officers at Allahabad were thus prevented from carrying matters to extremities, Colonel Smith, by the same means, secured tranquility in the camp, entertaining no doubt of the fidelity of the black troops, and perceiving that no good was to be expected from the generality of the European officers under his command, he dismissed the above corps, and ordered them to proceed to Calcutta.

On the 20th of May lord Clive and general Carnac arrived at the cantonments at Bankipore, where as have already been mentioned, the defection had not been attended with much inconvenience, since many of the officers of the third brigade, although they had resigned their commission, continued nevertheless

vertheless to do duty all these, therefore, at the intercession of Sir Robert Barker, lord Clive consented to restore

Intelligence being brought, that those who had left the cantonment, were still hovering about Patna; a party of sepoys were sent out to order them to depart immediately to Calcutta, and as the officers from Serrajepore and from Allahabad were upon the road, detachments were placed at proper stations to observe their motions, and to prevent their raising disturbances in the country. Lord Clive at the same time wrote to the French and Dutch chiefs of Chandernagore and Chinsura, informing them of what had past, and desiring them not to suffer any of the English officers to take refuge in their factories. To Sir Robert Fletcher he sent orders, that not a man of the second and third brigade should, on any pretence whatsoever, be permitted to enter the gates of Monghyr, and to the council at Calcutta he recommended that a watchful eye should be kept upon the conduct of the officers after their arrival at the presidency and that if they attempted to foment disturbances, they should be all confined in the next fort, until the Europe ship should be ready to receive them on board.

In the mean time, as many of the principals of the combination as could be found was put under arrest, in order to take their trial as soon as a general court-martial of field officers could be summoned. The temper of the second brigade also was now much altered, the officers whom lord Clive had sent forward to Allahabad, on their arrival received orders from colonel Smith, to join him at Serrajepore, but there happily proved no occasion

for their service. The fate of their combination at Monghyr and Bankipore, soon became publicly known at Allahabad and the camp. The gentlemen of the second brigade were now convinced that the scheme for recovering the double batta would prove ineffectual ; they saw that lord Clive would not yield to their demands ; that colonel Smith was not afraid even in his critical situation to trust wholly to the fidelity of the black officers ; that some of their associates were in arrest for mutiny and desertion, that many others were to be shipped off for England ; that a strong supply would soon arrive from Madras, and that in the mean time the field officers of each brigade, with the assistance of a few captains and subalterns, who by a timely submission were restored to the service, could keep the whole army in good order and discipline. These considerations added to the reflection that their fortune and reputation, if not their lives, were at stake, prevailed upon them not to quit their brigades at the time agreed upon, but to solicit forgiveness and restoration. They accordingly made all possible submission for the irregularities they had been guilty of, and requested permission to continue in the service ; colonel Smith who had authority from lord Clive to pardon those whom he wished to retain in his brigade, reinstated all who had behaved with moderation, and who were not in other respects unworthy of favour.

Repentance and humiliation now became general,

Letters of recantation arrived from almost every officer, each acknowledging the rashness and crime

crime of the late association, and each soliciting permission to return to his duty. Few of the subalterns had any other means of subsistence, than their commissions in the company's service, and many of them were very young men, who had been inveigled, or rather forced into the combination by their elders ; for when the ringleaders failed in the art of persuasion, they scrupled not to have recourse to violence, threatening some with the eternal obliquy of their brother officers, and others even with death, if they refused to resign their commissions : tenderness and compassion therefore took place of the rigour of military discipline ; all the ensigns, many of the lieutenants, and several of the captains were reinstated in the service ; but in order to prevent any further combination, it was at the same time given out in public orders, that every officer that had resigned, and was restored, should be obliged to execute a contract not to quit the service under a certain limited time without giving year's notice.

With regard to those who had deserted their duty in the field at Serrajepore, several of them were kept in arrest to take their trials ; then others whose conduct had been in a less degree exceptionable, were ordered to hold them in readiness to embark for Europe.

Many of the vacancies were in a few weeks filled up by officers from the coast, who were admitted according to the rank they held on the Madras establishment, so far as not to prejudice any of equal rank in Bengal, who had not resigned their commissions.

The army was thus in a manner new modelled; and, we may venture to assert became soon as complete, as to good officers and discipline as any army of the company in India, ever was before that period.

The happy issue of this conspiracy is not to be attributed to the resolution of lord Clive alone : an opposition of such a dangerous nature, abetted and encouraged as this was by many gentlemen in civil service, and at a time when the provinces were threatened with an invasion, could not have been overcome, had not the measures suggested by his lordship been steadily pursued, and unanimously supported by the council. Much is also to be attributed to the activity and firmness of the field-officers of each brigade, without which all the efforts would probably have proved unsuccessful. These gentlemen as has been observed in the course of the narrative, severally exerted themselves in suppressing the tumultuous disposition of the officers under their command, and also in preventing a mutiny of the soldiers; which seemed almost the natural consequence of a defection of the captains and subalterns ; nor would it be proper to dismiss this subject without remarking that the fate of the East India company, depended at that time, and will ever in a great measure depend upon the attachment of the native disciplined troops, which indeed is not to be suspected, so long as they are regularly paid, well commanded and treated with humanity.

To what lengths the military gentlemen, had they succeeded in the first instance; would afterwards have extended their demands, can scarcely be

be conjectured ; but it has been confidently asserted that three other points, besides the restoration of double batta were intended to be struggled for, viz

1st. The abolition of the new covenants, concerning the receipts of presents from the princes of the country .

2nd. The annihilation of the powers of the select committee ; and,

3rd A solemn promise from the governor and council, and a standing order of the board, that none of the officers in Bengal should, in future be superseded by any others appointed by the court of directors from England or from either of the company's settlements in India.

It is not to be imagined, that all those officers who were now excluded the service, and directed to leave India, readily complied with the orders for embarkation. Some there were who determined to resist : among these were Messrs. Duffield and Robertson, two of the ringleaders of the combination in the third brigade.

In the month of August when they received orders to embark in the Lord Camden, then under dispatch for Europe, they sent a remonstrance to the board ; setting forth, that they should be greatly distressed if driven to the necessity of leaving India before they had settled their private affairs ; and that therefore they neither could nor would comply with the orders ; they also delivered in a protest, declaring the board responsible for the consequences of enforcing obedience ; Mr. Robertson at the same time representing that the ill state of

his health would not admit of his making a voyage without endangering his life.

That there might be no doubt in this particular, the governor and council directed the principal surgeons of the settlement to visit him; and the substance of their report was, that they did not find any objection, on account of his health, to his going on board of ship.

Apprehensive that the authority of the board would not thus be baffled, the gentlemen thought proper, as a dernier resort, to shut themselves up in their houses, and barricade their doors. These means they concluded would effectually secure them from the civil power; and as to the martial law they desisted it, because they had been pleased to resign their commissions, and would no longer be considered as military men. The governor and council immediately taking into consideration the measures necessary to be pursued upon this occasion, came unanimously to the following resolutions, viz.

" Resolved, that as Messrs. Duffield and Robertson have, by their unwarrantable and mutinous conduct in the late association, forfeited the privilege of residing within the boundaries of the company's possessions; and have, in defiance of the order of the board, refused to embark on board the Lord Camden for Europe, they be compelled to embark on board the said ship, that they may be conveyed to England; and although from an act of George the First, we derive a sufficient authority to have recourse on this occasion to the civil power; yet, considering that Messrs. Duffield and Robertson are military men,

and

and that the delays that unavoidably attend the proceeding of the civil magistrate in Calcutta, would be extremely dangerous to all law, good order, and government, at a time when the mutinous opinion, that the army is not subject to the articles of war, is so industriously propagated and openly avowed, it is agreed, that the said gentlemen be, without delay, apprehended by the military power, and kept in confinement as mutineers, until they can be embarked, when they shall be sent on board the ship under a guard."

At the same time, the board think it a necessary caution in the instructions to be given to the officer who shall be employed upon this occasion, to order him on no account to break open doors or windows to come at the persons of Messrs. Duffield and Robertson; but should he find them barracadoed in their apartments, and that they obstinately persist in refusing to surrender themselves (as from the information received will most probably be the case) that he content himself with placing centinels round the house, so as to prevent an escape, and to hinder any person or provisions going to them.

These are determined upon as the most moderate means of inflicting the above resolution of the board; and the right honourable the president is desired to give the necessary orders for carrying the same into execution.

We cannot but be unanimously of opinion, that the mutinous conduct of these gentlemen, during the late treacherous combination, would alone have justified the resolution of this day's consultation; but we are farther convinced of the propriety

propriety thereof, when we consider the most frivolous pretexts and disingenious artifices have been made use of, in order to evade the legal executive power of this government; that the most audacious defiance has been publicly bid to our authority; and that the permitting these men to continue in the settlement would not only create an opinion, that every man has in himself a right, independent of the company, to reside in India, but likewise greatly tend to the encouragement and increase of that spirit of sedition, mutiny, and conspiracy, which has been raging throughout the army, and which is our indispensable duty, for the security of the whole, by almost any means to overcome.

The resignation of the officers in Bengal, which has been traduced, is a concerted mutiny and association of discontented officers, notwithstanding all the misrepresentations of the right honourable the president and council before the committee of secrecy appointed by the house of commons, was in every respect justifiable, is a lawful resistance against injustice and oppression. The officers who had the soldiery at their command should have engaged the assistance of the men which could alone have secured success, Lord Clive having declared, that nothing less than a mutiny of the soldiers should force him to comply with the terms of the officers; and I take upon myself to reproach them for their dastardly behaviour in suffering so many gallant officers, injured and persecuted, to be sent to Calcutta.

No doubt that many of the civilians upon the Bengal establishment, sensible of their wrongs, were

were equally dissatisfied at such unwarrantable proceedings of the noble lord and his committee, and acted with a becoming spirit in raising subscriptions for such officers as might resign their commissions, running the risk to be suspended or dismissed the company's service, rather than to be neutral spectators of such odious measures. Captain Goddard, and other officers of the first brigade accused their lieutenant colonel Sir Robert Fletcher to have been the first instigator of their resignations : he was charged, when he found a resignation was not to go forward by his private hints and encouragements; to have at last ventured, to recommend it publickly at a table of a dozen officers ; telling them that the brigade major and his aid de-camp, should first set the example ; and that their discontent, joined to that of the civilians, would inevitably deprive his lordship of all power ; adding, that he was well acquainted with the four gentlemen lord Clive had called from Madras to fill up vacancies in council at Bengal, who he was sure would all join against him. He was accused of having said, that the army was insulted, their services rewarded with ingratitude, and that his lordship's design was to reduce officers to contempt and beggary.

Sir Robert Fletcher wrote to his lordship a few days after, in a manner, that could not fail to convince his lordship that the accusation in general was founded upon truth : he said, that the concern he had in assisting and encouraging the officers to resign was aggravated, and confessed his imprudence. The judge-advocate general at the instance of captain Goddard laid a regular information

tion of mutiny against Sir Robert Fletcher, who was thereupon put on arrest the third of July, the day on which he arrived at Patna.

One captain Stainforth of the first brigade at Monghyr, during the course of these transactions being in liquor, had made use of threatening expressions against his lordship's life, for which he was tried and sentenced to be castrated.

The lenity which prevailed at the general court-martial upon the trial of six officers for mutiny, obliges us to observe, that a contract seems to be implied, as one of the obligations necessary, for subjecting an officer even in pay to the rules and articles of war, as appears in the preamble to the act of parliament for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in the service of the East India company. The members of the court martial considered themselves, this defect, as a plea on the behalf of the prisoners.

The rage with which the officers had been actuated by the reduction of the batta, was a natural consequence of having been deprived of advantages which they had before enjoyed, numbers of them were involved in debts, from which they had no prospect of extricating themselves, and were really reduced to much distress by the scantiness of their allowances.

Sir Robert Fletcher had promised to accept the resignation of the officers of his brigade, as he was sensible they had an undoubted right to resign, the officers in the company's service, not bound by any contract, could legally resign their commissions without the consent of the governor and council, and were not guilty of mutiny in doing it consequently

requently Sir Robert Fletcher could not be guilty of mutiny in only advising them to it. The company itself has acknowledged, that the officers might resign their commissions; by having resolved to oblige them in future to sign contracts, and by putting the resignation of the officers of the first brigade in public orders at the presidency.

The sentence of the court-martial upon lieutenant-colonel Sir Robert Fletcher, was, "That having been guilty of mutiny, excited sedition; the court adjudged him to be cashiered." How could he, bound by no contract with the company, be adjudged guilty of mutiny and sedition? I leave those conversant with military laws, to which in fact neither he nor all the company's officers were not subject, to decide.

The substance of the bond executed by the officers, and transmitted to lord Clive by Sir Robert Fletcher was, that having entered into an engagement to resign their commissions in the company's service, and not to resume them unless the batta of the troops was again restored to what it was in July and August 1763. They bound and obliged themselves severally not to accept of any commission in that service, till they had obtained the satisfaction required, under the penalty of 500l. sterling, recoverable in any of his majesty's courts of justice. This obligation was to be void and of no effect, if the batta was restored to the above-mentioned standard; otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

The officers of the third brigade commanded by Sir Robert Barker, sent a remonstrance addressed to lord Clive and the council of Fort William,

liam, setting forth their sufferings, and the miseries that either pressed or threatened them every where, in consequence of the orders of the 31st of December for the curtailing of batta.

Without necessaries said they, 'tis presumed it will not be said we can subsist in Indostan ; and all commodities here fifty, sixty, and upwards to two hundred per cent. more than at Fort William. The wages of servants too remain unalterable. Indeed to an officer nothing is new except multiplied distress. The present allowance is much inadequate to what is essentially requisite to the support of nature, and the station an officer is honoured with. You know the fatigues of an officer in hot and rainy weather ; the necessity of his having a horse or palanquin, and the present impossibility of his procuring either. They concluded, by beseeching the president and council to cancel the orders of the 31st of December, which were already most severely felt; and if not countermanded, must quickly bring poverty and wretchedness on the officers.

Their grievances were unnoticed and obtained no redress.. If one considers the dearness of all necessaries in Indostan, and the various things an officer is obliged to be provided for, the pay of the company great as it seems, is by no means adequate to their expences.

The following shews the pay, batta, and additional allowances to the different ranks of military officers, serving on the Bengal establishment, in pounds sterling, at 2s. 3d. per current rupees.

| Rank. | | | Total per Annum, Sterling, | | | |
|--------------------|---|----|----------------------------|--|--|--|
| Colonel | - | - | £. 3433 19 1 | | | |
| Lieutenant colonel | - | 1- | 1300 13 11 | | | |
| Major | - | - | 975 10 5 | | | |
| Captain | - | - | 464 10 8 | | | |
| Captain lieutenant | - | - | 371 12 6 | | | |
| Lieutenant | - | - | 278 14 4 | | | |
| Ensign | - | - | 214 5 8 | | | |
| Cadet | - | - | 92 18 1 | | | |

Seapoy Officers.

| | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|-----|----|---|
| Captain | - | - | - | 464 | 10 | 8 |
| Lieutenant | - | - | - | 369 | 2 | 3 |
| Ensign | - | - | - | 287 | 3 | 8 |

Artillery.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|-----|----|----|
| Captain | - | - | - | 500 | 9 | 11 |
| Captain lieutenant | - | - | - | 413 | 11 | 8 |
| First lieutenant | - | - | - | 290 | 14 | 2 |
| Second lieutenant | - | - | - | 290 | 14 | 2 |
| Lieutenant fireworker | - | - | - | 229 | 5 | 4 |

Cavalry.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|-----|----|---|
| Captain | - | - | - | 555 | 19 | 3 |
| Captain lieutenant | - | - | - | 498 | 1 | 3 |
| First lieutenant | - | - | - | 354 | 12 | 6 |
| Second lieutenant | - | - | - | 334 | 4 | 8 |
| Coronet | - | - | - | 289 | 16 | 8 |

S.aff

| | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----|---|-------|----|---|
| Quarter master general | - | - | 464 | 10 | 8 |
| VOL. III | E c | - | Judge | | |

| Rank | | | Total per Annum | Ser | ng |
|--------------------------|---|---|-----------------|-----|----|
| Judge advocate general | - | - | 464 10 | 8 | |
| Chaplain | - | - | 464 10 | 8 | |
| Aid de camp | - | - | 464 10 | 8 | |
| Secretary | - | - | 464 10 | 8 | |
| Field engineer | - | - | 464 10 | 8 | |
| Brigade major | - | - | 464 10 | 8 | |
| Surgeon | " | - | 464 10 | 8 | |
| Surgeon's assistant | - | - | 278 14 | 4 | |
| Adjutant | - | - | 278 14 | 4 | |
| Quarter master | - | - | 278 14 | 4 | |
| Commissary and conductor | - | - | 214 5 | 8 | |

Staff in staff, composed garrison from civilians

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|-----|----|---|
| Interpreter | - | - | - | 464 | 10 | 8 |
| Pay master | - | - | - | 464 | 10 | 8 |
| Deputy pay master | - | - | - | 278 | 14 | 4 |
| Commissary of masters | - | - | - | 464 | 10 | 8 |
| Deputy ditto | - | - | - | 278 | 14 | 4 |
| Commissary of boats | - | - | - | 464 | 10 | 8 |
| Deputy ditto | - | - | - | 278 | 14 | 4 |
| Town major | - | - | - | 185 | 16 | 3 |
| Barrack master | - | - | - | 185 | 16 | 3 |
| Town adjutant | - | - | - | 92 | 18 | 1 |

N B The batta of officers in cantonments is only half of that enjoyed in the field, the batta after crossing the Caramnassa, is double the field batta

In the colonel's absence the next field officer commanding the regiment receives the additional batta

batta of the rank above him, with forty rupees per diem for his table.

Every staff officer, exclusive of the pay of the rank he holds in the army, receives the pay and batta of the rank he holds in the staff.

Sir Robert Fletcher in a letter to lord Clive, dated Monghyr the 25th of April 1766, concluded in this manner. I judge the other brigades are ripe for an insurrection. Whatever the indigent majority of officers may, or may not have for carrying this matter so far, I hardly see any colour of a plea for those who bear double posts.

Above one hundred and thirty officers wrote a letter to captain Carnac, dated Korah April 15th 1766. They acquainted him that in consequence of the orders of the 31st of December, the officers of the first, second, and third brigades, had come to an agreement of resigning their commissions which were lodged to the amount of one hundred and thirty. They therefore requesting him to send his commission to some friend of the first brigade, with such directions as he should think proper, as experience had shewn there was no dependence on verbal declarations. They acquainted him that all the absentees had been wrote to on the occasion ; and that a subscription had been opened for supporting those who might want it ; in case the council should think proper to accept of all their commissions, or to indemnify those who might be pointed out as principals and sufferers, should the batta ever be restored. This letter was signed Full Batta.

The officers bound themselves by their honour to pay a sum of money, in proportion to the rank they

they held in the company's service, in order to defray the expence of going to England, and purchasing an equal commission in his majesty's service, for any officers, who might be singled out to suffer in the cause, in which they were engaged.

His lordship was much enraged at an anonymous letter signed, First Brigade, which said, that none but pimps to power would refuse to resign their commissions. "I wish," said lord Clive, in a letter dated Mootejyl, May 2 1766, to colonel Smith, if I could discover the authors of these anonymous letters, my utmost endeavours should be used to get them shot."

This proves his lordship's violent and bloody disposition, with the unprecedented military despotism he intended to establish in Bengal.

It seems colonel Smith had persuaded lord Clive, that the Maratta's were prepared to invade the Korah province, as his lordship mentions in a letter, dated at Shahabad, May 11th 1766, that the colonel's return to Allahabad might carry too much the appearance of a retreat; for this reason, the noble president approved of the colonel encamping at Serajapore, recommending him to preserve his post, till the pretended motions of the Moratta's should admit of his march to Allahabad. Should they advance to the frontiers, continues his lordship, you will act in the manner you may judge most defensive for the provinces of Korah and Sujah al Daulah's dominions. The colonel was empowered to enter and conclude such treaties with any of the adjacent powers, as he might think the emergency of affairs in these parts might require: however, he did not imagine that an excursion would be attempted,

attempted so late in the season, especially into the nabob's country, so well secured by the Ganges.

The nabob of Bengal having paid a visit to lord Clive at Sydokbangs, and being then much out of order, died the 8th of May, of that sort of fever which affects the nose, and Syfa Dowlah the next brother was placed upon the Musnut.

Lord Clive and colonel Smith with ten or twelve officers, proceeded with all expedition to Patna, and from thence proceeded to Banaras and Allahabad.

His lordship at that time lodged to the amount of near seventy thousand pounds (a legacy left him by Meer Jaffier) in the company's cash, the interest of which he established as a fund for the support of officers and men, who may be disabled or worn out in the service.

To a colonel 500l per annum ; to a lieutenant-colonel 300l. to a major 200l. to a lieutenant 100l. to an ensign 70l. to a serjeant 20l. to a corporal 15l and 10l. to a private man ; part of which pensions is to be continued to their widows. We cannot but commend such an establishment : this extraordinary act of his lordship's public spirit and generosity was at this juncture suggested by policy, when most of the officers in the company's service was dissatisfied of his other military regulations. This establishment has been since differently regulated by the company. A great number of officers put their commissions in a box, and had them presented to his lordship : one of them writing to his friend, said, " I do not doubt, but that you have heard of the five lacs he has given to the military, a generous soul, to break their heads first and then give them a plaster." He was taking the most

most desperate measures against the officers who had resigned ; wholly influenced by ambition and self-interest, if the noble president had compassed his designs, eternal slavery with shame would have been the officers lot. Had the men joined them, his lordship would have been forced to come into their terms. In a letter to the officers of the third brigade, are the following words : " What a pimp your colonel is, I wonder you don't flog him." They were reproached for having in a dastardly manner let Duffield be sent to Calcutta.

The following is a conversation been his lordship and the general ; over-heard by an officer of the third brigade.

General Smith. What will your lordship do with the army ?

Lord Clive. Hang one half for an example to the other.

General. How will you be provided with officers ?

Clive. Send to Madras and Bombay for all they can spare ; and make serjeants and corporals for the present.

General. Our serjeants and corporals will never do for officers.

Clive. They will do till we get better.

General. And when you have got better, what will your lordship do with them ?

Clive. Why reduce one half to their former stations, and for fear the other half should be too strong, I will order them to Calcutta, clap them on board ships, and send them to Bencoolen, where they shall do private duty as before.

General,

General. Your lordship will be liable to prosecutions at home.

Clive. I'll be d-d then ; for I'll send such instructions to the governor, that few shall remain to tell the story.

General. If the men join, what will you do ?

Clive. By G-d, I must give them their own terms ; but the gentlemen by acting as volunteers seemed determined to prevent that ; let them do so a little while longer, and by G-d I'll do for them.

The above is an absolute fact, which proved that if the officers had engaged their men to follow them, lord Clive should have been forced to give up all thoughts of a military reformation.

Lord Clive in the process of his examination before the select committee of the house of commons, said, that the city of Muxadavad was as extensive, populous and rich, as the city of London ; with this difference, that there are individuals in the first, possessing infinitely greater property than any in the last city : these, as well as other men of property, continued he, made me the greatest offers (which nevertheless are usual upon such occasions, and what they expected would have been required) and had I accepted these offers, I might have been in possession of millions, which the present court of directors could not have dispossessed me of : but preferring the reputation of the English nation, the interest of the nabob, and the advantage of the company, to all pecuniary considerations, I refused all offers that were made me, not only then, but to the last hour of my continuance in the company's service in Bengal, and do challenge friend or enemy to bring one single instance

of my being influenced by interested motives to the company's disadvantage ; or to do any act that could reflect dishonour to my country, or the company, in any one action of my administration either as governor or commanding officer. I little expect to have had my conduct impeached, or to have received such treatment from the court of directors, especially after the many public and honourable testimonies of approbation I had received.

These were bold assertions after the numberless instances of his lordship's sordid and disgraceful monopolies. I really believe, he would not have carried things to the extremities he did, had he expected ever to have had his conduct impeached. He produced a copy of the company's letter, dated March 8, 1758. Indeed, at that time their infatuation was such, that they looked upon his lordship as a prodigy of valour, the greatest hero and statesman of the age, as appears from the following extravagant encomiums on his services, and that revolution, which will be a lasting monument of infamy.

" SIR,

" Our sentiments of gratitude, for the many great services you have rendered to this company; together with the thanks of the general court, have been hitherto conveyed through the channel of our general letters; but the late extraordinary and unexpected revolution in Bengal, in which you had so great a share of action, both in the cabinet and in the field, merits our more particular regard; and we do accordingly embrace this opportunity of returning

turning you our most sincere and hearty thanks for the zeal, good conduct and intrepidity, which you have so eminently exerted on this glorious occasion ; as well as for the great and solid advantages resulting therefrom to the East-India company : we earnestly wish your health may permit your continuance in India, for such farther terms, as will give you an opportunity of securing the foundation you have laid ; as likewise to give your assistance in putting the company's mercantile and civil affairs in a proper and advantageous footing, upon the plans now transmitted. For this purpose, as well as in consideration of your eminent services, we have appointed you governor and president of Fort William in Bengal and its dependencies, in the manner mentioned in the general letter, by this conveyance ; to which we have annexed an additional allowance of 1000l. a year, as a testimony of our great regard for you. His lordship who had expressed the utmost contempt on divers occasions, for the opinion of the court of directors, was glad to produce this testimony in his favour ; what an inconsistency with the illiberal abuses of which he had been so prodigal on the blunders and misconduct of those managers of India affairs. It must be observed that after this revolution, the large sums granted by the nabob to make good the losses of several inhabitants, were more than sufficient to indemnify them, had lord Clive made an impartial and judicious distribution, and not diverted part of this public money to his own use and that of his creatures.

Although the nabob gave the company a crore of rupees, yet as the company, was at an im-

mense expence of maintaining the settlement at Fulla, the military charges of the troops from Fort St. George and Bombay, and the hazard those presidencies had been exposed to by drawing them off from thence : the charges of fortifications and rebuildings, replacing stores, increase of garrisons, the loss of a season's investments, if not more, and many obvious particulars, were taken into the account, it would appear that the company were still considerable sufferers. Not only the money stipulated in the treaty with the nabob was sufficient to indemnify the inhabitants of Calcutta for their respective losses, together with the interest thereon, but the company might have been benefited by a considerable surplus, if properly applied ; the directors instructions were to deposit such surplus in their cash, to be expended in such manner, as would tend to the general utility and security of the settlement ; lord Clive never made such disposition of the money, as he was directed by his employers.

In regard to the fictitious treaty, lord Clive informed 'the committee,' that when Mr. Watts had nearly accomplished the means of carrying that revolution into execution, he acquainted him by letter, that a fresh difficulty had started ; that Omichund had insisted upon five per cent. on all the nabob's treasures, and go lack in money ; and threatened if he did not comply with that demand, he would immediately acquaint Serajah Dowlah with what was going on, and Mr. Watts should be put to death. That when he received this advice, he thought art and policy warrantable in defeating the purposes of such a villain ; and that his lordship himself

himself formed the plan of the fictitious treaty, to which the committee consented : it was sent to admiral Watson who objected the signing of it ; but to the best of his remembrance, gave the gentleman who carried it (Mr. Lushington) leave to sign his name upon it. That his lordship never made any secret of it ; thought it warrantable in such a case, and would do it again a hundred times, and did it with a design of disappointing the expectations of a rapacious man. That Omichund was employed as an agent to Mr. Watts, as having most knowledge of Serajah Dowlah's court, and had commission to deal with three or four more of the court. He pretended not to know exactly the amount of the treasures of Serajah Dowlah, but believed about three or four millions ; that Mr. Lushington was the person who signed admiral Watson's name, by his lordship's order. He was at that time secretary to lord Clive. His lordship declared that he did not receive above 16. lack of rupees clear all in money, denying to have received any jewels. It appeared that the noble lord had transmitted to the company some account of the treaty with the nabob Meer Jaffier, but no copy of it ; it is amazing that an instrument of such importance, should have been delivered over without a copy being taken. The 13th article, his lordship pretended never to have recollect it till he was last in India. His lordship acknowledged having wrote to the directors that there was no such article to the best of his knowledge. By that article, the company stood bound in alliance with Meer Jaffier. The instrument which the nabob signed contained only twelve articles, and that signed by the thirteen. The

twelve articles were all in Persian, and only the thirteen in English. Lord Clive's letter to the Dutch governor respecting the thirteenth article, was not entered into the public proceedings at Calcutta, though a public proceeding of a very important nature. Lord Clive having an independant command from the gentlemen at Calcutta, did not think proper in every circumstance to transmit the particulars of his proceedings to them.

Captain Brereton, who was lieutenant with admiral Watson in the Kent said, that he had often heard the admiral speak of the treaty that was to deceive Omichund ; that it was proposed to him to sign this fictitious treaty to deceive Omichund of 30 lack, which he refused to do, as dishonourable to him as an officer, and an affront to propose it to him : that is, was proposed some body should sign it for him, which he also refused, and said he would wash his hands of it, he would have nothing to do with it, he was a stranger to deception, they might do as they pleased. The deposition absolutely contradicts the assertion that Mr Lushington had authority from the admiral to sign for him that fictitious treaty, as captain Brereton further declared, he had often heard the admiral say, he would not authorise any body to do it, adding, he was sure the admiral had too good heart to put his seal to such an instrument. Admiral Watson heard from captain Martin, on his death bed, of his name having been to the fictitious treaty ; and the secret committee had agreed to share the thirty lack stipulated in the agreement with Omichund among themselves, and excluding the admiral of his share, because he had not signed the treaty. The admiral said, that he always

way's thought the connexion dishonourable, and as there was so much iniquity amongst mankind, he did not wish to stay any longer among them. This was just before his death, which happened the 10th of August, 1757, Captain Brereton said, he was not present at this conversation, but in the next room; and that it was communicated to him by captain Martin, dead since, the moment he came out of the room. It seems the admiral never applied to the select committee for a part of this money, but after his death, his executors did, Captain Brereton said, the admiral did not mention the gentleman's name who proposed to sign the fictitious treaty, but said with a sneer, it was a member of the secret committee. That he had heard the admiral say, he thought it an extraordinary measure to depose a man with whom they had so lately made a solemn treaty; that, if he was instructed by the king to afford the East-India company assistance in their affairs, he assisted them with forces according to his duty; that he always understood from the admiral's conversation, that he did sign the real treaty, but never heard him say whether he approved of it or not. The admiral would never give his consent to any transaction that he held dishonourable, that should insinuate his approbation as deception.

Captain Brereton further said, that he did not believe the East-India company could have succeeded in their different enterprizes, and particularly in effecting the revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier, without the assistance of his majesty's ships and troops. When the admiral declared, he had

not signed the fictitious treaty (shrugging up his shoulders,) he alluded to colonel Clive and the select committee, in concluding that he had left them to do as they pleased.

Sir Eyre Coote being called upon to give an account of the transactions in Bengal in the year 1757, that came within his knowledge said, That he was a member of the council of war, previous to the battle of Plassey upon the 21st of June, when colonel Clive called the council together for their opinion, whether it would be prudent to come to an immediate action with the nabob, or fortify themselves where they were, till they could be reinforced by the Marattas ; , the opinions of lieutenant colonel Clive, two majors and ten captains were against coming to an immediate action, for an immediate engagement were the opinions of major Eyre, Coote and six captains. The reason for Sir Eyre Coote's opinion in this council have been already explained, and having read a description of the battle of Plassey, he gave an account of the attack upon Chandernagore, to shew the difference of loss when acting against European or Indian forces ; and it appeared, that the loss was much more considerable at the attack of Chandernagore.

Being desired to give his opinion whether without the assistance of the king's troops and ships in the whole of the transactions in 1757, the enterprises would have succeeded ? He said, he had no idea that they could : and whether the army under colonel Clive alone could have taken Chandernagore without the assistance of the navy and king's troops,? he said the probability was against them,

His

His lordship observed, that he had made some mistake in a former part of his evidence, that he certainly should not have declared that admiral Watson had consented to have his name put to the fictitious treaty, if he had not understood from Mr Lushington, but that he would have ordered his name to be put whether he had consented or not.

The following extract of a letter from his lordship to the secret committee at Fort St George, dated the 12th September, 1757, was read.

" It is with the deepest concern I acquaint you
 " of admiral Watson's death, his zeal for the ser-
 " vice of the company, and the extraordinary suc-
 " cefs it was crowned with, both at Gerrah and in
 " the expedition, will make his memory, particu-
 " larly in India survive to latest ages "

Lord Clive in evidence to the manner in which Meer Jaffier gave his jaghier, informed the committee, that the first letter he ever wrote about a jaghire, was to the best of his remembrance on the 31st of January 1759 As the nabob owed his lordship his government, he had been a means of having honours conferred on the colonel, in creating him an omrah of the empire, but that he had given him nothing to support those honours

Lord Clive further informed the committee, that he applied to Juggut Seat, a banker, and a man of great weight and influence with the nabob, who presented him in his name with the jaghier inclosed in a silken bag, in consequence of having been made an Orrah, without this usual appendage of his

his new dignity. In answer to which, he replied, that the nabob never granted jaghiers in Bengal ; that Orixá was too poor, but that he might have one in Bahar. His lordship declared upon his honour that he never applied for any jaghire, either directly or indirectly, after that period ; and that when the nabob presented him the jaghire, near six months afterwards, he had not the least idea of the amount of it, nor of its being the quit-rent upon the company's lands, till the patent explained it ; that the amount of the jaghire was reckoned about 30,000l. a year. He said, he had received the benefit of the jaghire from July 1759, to this day.

Lord Clive made a declaration, which shews he looked himself upon the nabob's armies as contemptible and licentious troops, that required very little military knowledge to conquer them. He said, it is the custom of that country never to pay the army a fourth part of what is promised them ; and it is only in time of distress they can be paid at all ; and for that reason the troops always behave so ill. That the troops of Meer Jaffier had mutinied, because he could not pay them ; as there were great arrears due to the army by Sérayah Dowlah as well as Meer Jaffier, amounting to four millions sterling. He said, he had been informed that the nabob's jewels amounted to near a million sterling ; that the worst of them, worth about 50,000l. were sent to Calcutta, and sold there as part of the treaty money ; and that the nabob made assignments of lands for fulfilling all the articles of the treaty, in the nature of mortgage ; his lordship declared, that he was made an Omrah by his request to Meer Jaffier, to make the application to the mogul. Some days after this evidence was given, lord Clive acquainted the committee,

mittee, that, upon recollection, he was mistaken in the answer he made : being asked, on whose application he was made an Omrah ? that his answer to it now is, by Meer Jaffier's to the Mogul, and without application on his lordship's part.

Lord Clive acknowledged, that when Serajah Dowlah arrived, after his defeat at the city of Mu-xadavad, his palace was full of treasure ; but with all that treasure he could not purchase the confidence of his army ; and that he was employed in lavishing considerable sums among his troops to engage them to another battle, but to no purpose. That the day on which Meer Jaffier should enter the city being fixed, his lordship made also his entry at the head of two hundred Europeans and five hundred seapoys. That the inhabitants who were spectators upon that occasion, must have amounted to some hundred thousands ; and if they had had an inclination to destroy the Europeans, they might have done it with sticks and stones. On that day, continued his lordship, being under no kind of restraint but that of my own conscience, I might have become too rich for a subject ; but I had fixed upon that period to accomplish all my views whatever, and from that period to this hour, which is a space of fifteen years, I have not benefited myself directly nor indirectly, the value of one shilling, the jaghire excepted ; I have been placed in great and eminent stations, surrounded with temptations ; the civil and military power were united in me ; a circumstance which has never happened to any other man before that time, or since : the committee will therefore judge whether I have been moderate or immoderate in the pursuit of riches. His

lordship had forgot the monopolies and other pecuniary transactions in which he was essentially concerned, the last time he was invested with the supreme power in the Bengal provinces. Lord Clive went on to relate, that Meer Jaffier being proclaimed nabob, and a day fixed upon to consider the nabob's treasures, and to see how far he could comply with the treaty immediately ; after that state was known, this matter was left to be decided by the Seats, two men of immense wealth and great influence ; and it was agreed, that half should be paid down, and the other half in three years. That at this meeting was Omichund ; and when the real treaty came to be read, the indignation and resentment expressed in that man's countenance, bars all description. He said, this cannot be the treaty, it was a red treaty that I saw ; (meaning wrote upon red paper) that his lordship replied, " Yes, Omichund, but this is a white treaty." That this important business being accomplished, he returned to Calcutta with the army, and the Nabob (of his own making) soon began to fill his own greatness, and manifested evident designs of shaking of all dependence upon the English, and of evading the fulfilling the rest of the treaty. That he dismissed from his service those great men who had been the instruments of his greatness, and he put to death the only son of Serajah Dowlah. That as soon as the rains were over, he took the field, without the company's assistance to quash three rebellions ; but when he came seriously to consider of his situation, he thought proper to call upon the English for assistance ; and that his lordship marched immediately to join him. That at

the city he had a meeting with the discontented chiefs, when he engaged to protect them in their persons, and to use his influence to get them restored to favour. That this was easily accomplished, and he then insisted that he should immediately pay down that part of the treaty-money, which was then due, and that he should assign over lands, sufficient in mortgage to secure the rest. That no difficulty was found in subduing all his enemies, except Ramnarrain, who was the nabob of Bahar, and at the head of a great army, and would not acknowledge Meer Jaffier without the English security ; which being given and a promise made, that he should remain in his government, he came to the nabob and paid his obedience. That the country being now just settled, he returned to Calcutta, with an intention to embark for the Carnatic, and taking the first favourable opportunity of returning to his native country : but in the interim the chiefs arrived from Europe, which brought out the very strange appointment of four governors, which was called a rotation government, because one governor was only to be as such for three months. He had not the honour to be appointed one of those governors : upon which the gentlemen who had that honour, as well as the rest of the council who thought proper to deviate from the commands of their honourable employers. Alledging, that a rotation of governors for the future management of their affairs at the presidency of Bengal, weighed with all its attending circumstances, was repugnant to the true interest of the company, and the welfare of the settlement in general : that placing the presidentship in some one person,

the clearest and easiest method of conducting their concerns, as with us preserving the influence the late revolution had given them, with the Subah of these provinces. That a rotation in the executive part of government, would be attended with great difficulties and inconveniences when the treaty with the nabob was not perfected in all its branches, the possessions of the lands incomplete, the settlement in no posture of defence, the French considerably reinforced with military and a fleet. Their designs with respect to Bengal hitherto unknown, and the impossibility of impressing a proper idea of this divided power in the minds of the Subah and others, accustomed to the government of a single person.

The four gentlemen appointed governors acquiesced to this opinion, and were made sensible that such a rotation in the executive part of government, would be extremely prejudicial to the real interest of the company. And, as lord Clive had been named head of the general committee, his friend Mr. Watts, who was with his lordship the principal instrument of the late revolution, that had proved so beneficial to the projectors, was determined to fix the presidentship, in a single person, namely, colonel Clive; persuaded that this appointment would answer all the sordid views and expectations of them both, till they heard further from Europe. After having made a pompous enumeration of colonel Clive's eminent services, abilities and merit, and represented his superior weight and influence with the Subah and his officers; he prevailed on the rest of the council to make him an offer of being president of the company's affairs in

in Bengal, till the pleasure of the directors should be further known.

Lord Clive did not hesitate a moment to accept of a request so agreeable to his ambition ; and soon after, he received his appointment from the court of directors themselves, in consequence of his magnified victory at Plassey. The noble lord, with his wonted modesty assumes the principal merit of having restored the company's affairs upon the coast of Coromandel, when Mr. Lally arrived with such a force as threatened not only the destruction of all the settlements there, but of all the East-India company's possessions ; it is known that Madras must have shared the fate of Fort St. David, had not the French wanted money, which gave time for strengthening and reinforcing the place, nobly defended by Mr. Pigot, general Lawrence, colonel Draper, Mr. Caillaud, major Brereton, &c. Indeed his lordship, contrary to the inclinations of his whole council, projected and luckily accomplished the scheme of depriving the French of the northern fircars (whose revenues were computed to amount to 400,000l. a year.) But the compleat success of this expedition was owing to the gallant colonel Ford, by whose courage and conduct, superior to any thing that had happened during the course of the war, the French were totally driven out. As for the siege of Patna, which his lordship obliged the king's son to raise, every body knows that this pusillanimous besieger fled at his approach.

The other successful expedition of colonel Ford, who intercepted the Dutch in their march to Chinsura, was the consequence of colonel Clive taking upon

upon himself to commence hostilities against a nation, with whom we were at peace, on a suspicion that Meer Jaffier, the nabob of his creation, had encouraged them to come to Bengal. Indeed, his lordship suggested the danger of an invasion, but colonel Ford was charged with the risk to oppose it. After the design of the Dutch had been frustrated, by colonel Ford's activity, colonel Clive resigned his government to Mr. Howell, and the military command to colonel Caillaud, and embarking on board a ship in February 1760, arrived in England in July.

Had the directors been acquainted, as they have been since, with captain Clive's first military exploits, and the lucky circumstances that favoured them ; this might have dispensed with the precious token of their esteem, I mean that sword set with diamonds, of which his lordship boasted, in reading the minutes of the East-India company, with the resolves of their repeated thanks to the select committee of the house of commons. When they desired him to give his consent that his portrait or statue should be taken, in order to be placed in some conspicuous part of the India-house, that his eminent and signal services to the company might be ever had in remembrance ; they should have been better informed and less precipitate, before they decreed such honours to the heaven born general. The revolution affected by his policy, has proved since a disgrace to the British nation. According to his own declaration, Meer Jaffier proved a treacherous ally, as he charged the nabob before the committee with having invited the Dutch into the Bengal

Bengal provinces, and connived at their raising troops in the country.

Colonel Caillaud gave an account of what he knew of the transactions preceding the revolution in 1760, and what induced him to consent to that revolution. He was called to Bengal in 1759, to take the command of the troops, in the room of colonel Clive ; and was informed, that the prince (called Shânzadda) was again preparing to enter the province of Bahar with a large army, and joined by several Zemindars of that province who had not taken part with him the year before. This proves that the revolution effected by the arts of colonel Clive and Mr. Watts promised nothing less than a permanent peace and secure possession of the new acquisitions in Bengal.

The nabob of Parnia had taken the field on the Eastern bank of the Ganges ; about half way between Patna and Muxadavad and his motives for so doing were ; the umbrage he had taken at the late encroachments of the company, being inclined to join the prince, if a favourable opportunity offered. Colonel Clive judged it therefore expedient that he should march with a detachment to Muxadavad, there to wait his arrival and his orders. Colonel Caillaud set out from Calcutta in December, with the detachment of 300 Europeans, 50 artillery, six pieces of cannon and a battalion of seapoys, consisting of about 1000 men, and arrived at Muxadavad the 26th. On the 6th of January Lord Clive and colonel Ford joined him. Lord Clive then introduced him to the nabob, recommended him to his friendship; and desired he would repose all the confidence possible in colonel Caillaud

laud, who was well inclined and attached to his interest. On the 14th Lord Clive and colonel Ford set out upon their return. And on the 18th he began his march to Patna, joined by the nabob's son at the head of a large number of cavalry forces. There was a great many difficulties in setting out the expedition; the low state of the nabob's treasury obliged him to borrow money, as he could get it from the bankers in mortgaging countries for it. Colonel Caillaud reached a place opposite to which the nabob of Parnia was encamped. On the 30th, he had not declared his intentions openly; but said, he was ready and willing to obey the nabob's orders in every thing; to pay all the revenues that were due, and to prove himself a faithful subject and servant. He was at the head of a large body of troops; and as the affairs of Patna were than situated, it was dangerous to have such force in his rear, without knowing whether he could trust them. The colonel endeavoured to settle matters between him and the nabob as well he could; he would except of no mediation but his; he would not see the young nabob, but took his security, that if he faithfully discharged all the demands the old nabob had on him for revenues due, he would endeavour to get the nabob's consent that he should remain in his command. This kept colonel Caillaud seven days, and at this time the prince was drawing near Patna. The subah of that province, had a considerable army under his command, besides a battalion of our seapoys that was left in garrison at Patna by lord Clive, who joined him upon that occasion, and marchad out
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of the city with these forces. Colonel Caillaud repeatedly wrote to him, and pressed him not to come to an action but wait his arrival, and had no doubt then of success against the prince. However, he chose to follow his own advice; he engaged the prince; two of his principal jamandars deserted him during the action; he was totally defeated and severely wounded: four hundred of our seapoys marched to his assistance, when he was surrounded by the enemy, saved him, and were cut to pieces themselves, with three European gentlemen, two officers, and one gentleman, a volunteer. The remainder of the battalion secured his retreat into Patna, which the Shauzadja immediately invested. The colonel, received the news of his defeat the 11th of February, and marched with all expedition in his power; such as obliged him on the 15th to raise the siege of Patna; and on the 22d the two armies met and engaged. The young nabob follows quite a contrary disposition to that colonel Caillaud wanted him to make, but he saved him in imminent danger, and the enemy was totally routed. The instant the engagement was over, the young nabob retired to his tent, on account of the wounds he had received. Colonel Caillaud requested and conjured him to give him ever so small a body of cavalry; and with his Europeans and seapoys, fatigued as they were, he would do his best to pursue the enemy, and clear the country of them; he was deaf to all the colonel's intreaties. The handful of troops he was at the head of, were fatigued beyond measure with the forced marches he had made, put it quite out of his power to pursue the fugitives. Besides, out

of six pieces of cannon, which he had in the field, four broke down during the engagement, and some time was necessary to put these carriages in repair. At length, he persuaded the nabob to leave the city of Patna on the 29th of February, and on the 2d of March he received advice that the prince was in full march for the province of Bengal. He had the advantage of a day's march of the army, as his consisted almost entirely of cavalry, unincumbered with baggage. On the 7th, colonel Caillaud got within ten miles of him ; he marched off in the night, and took his way across the mountains, to enter the province of Bengal in another part ; a road through which no army before had ever marched : however, the colonel followed him, and on the 4th of April joined the old nabob who was in the field. On the 6th, with their united armies, they got so near the prince, that he proposed to the nabob to give him a body of Cavalry, and some horses to assist him in carrying the Europeans, who were exhausted and spent with fatigue, and he would attack the prince in his camp that night. This he would not comply with, and the next day he came up however with the rear of their army, a river only dividing them ; he again sent repeated messages to the nabob to beg he would only march a body of cavalry to keep the enemy in play until he could come up with his infantry ; but this he would never consent to, and the enemy marched off unmolested ; and in two days after took the same round into the province of Bahar. The colonel concerned for the safety of Patna, which he knew was destitute of troops, detached captain Knox, with 200 Europeans, a battalion of seapoys and

and two pieces of cannon, to march with all the expedition he possibly could for the relief of Patna, if the prince should besiege it : he came in time to save the city, on which the prince had made two general assaults, and was preparing for a third, when captain Knox arrived with some part of his detachment, and obliged him to raise the siege a second time: Colonel Caillaud remained in camp with the old nabob and his son until the 16th of May, when again he marched against the nabob of Purnea, whom the subah of Bengal had endeavoured to bring back to his duty, which the other refused; and would comply with none of his terms, broke his promise with the colonel, and was setting out with an intention of joining the prince. On the 22d, he again reached Patna, and crossed the river there ; but before that happened, captain Knox, whom he had ordered to march from Patna across the river, to endeavour to stop the progress of the nabob of Purnea, so that he might get up with him, had taken a strong and judicious post, and was attacked by the nabob's whole army, and maintained his post with great bravery.

On the 27th, the colonel came up with the enemy who had been retreating as fast as they could ; the young nabob with his army being two miles in the rear ; the cannonading began between the two armies ; he soon seized their cannon, dislodged them from all their posts, and would have obtained a complete victory, if the foot could have overtaken the cavalry, of which his army was chiefly composed; he had none of his own, and the nabob would not send him a single horseman : they continued pursuing the nabob of Purnea until the 3d of July ; they

They were to have continued their march next day, when between one and two o'clock in the morning, Mr. Lushington came into his tent with a messenger, and told the colonel the young nabob was dead ; his surprise was beyond expression, and having enquired how the accident happened, he was answer by a flash of lightning as he lay on his bed : in a few minutes after his Duan or prime minister came to the colonel in great distress, assuring him that if something was not immediately done, the consequence would be the plunder of the camp, and the nabob's troops marching off, whenever they thought proper. There was no way to prevent this accident, and the confusion which must follow, but to endeavour to keep his death a secret from the army, in order to gain time to bring some of the jamandars of the greatest consequence, and attach them to the interest of the company. The colonel sent for one or two of these he could most confide in, told them the case, and requested as a mark of the regard they had for their old master to continue faithful in the service of the old nabob, and to bring over by degrees, as many of the other jamandars as they could to this way of thinking ; he, on his part engaged to use all his endeavours with the old nabob, that all the arrears of pay and all the just demands they might have, should be settled to their satisfaction. It was then agreed, that the army should march back towards Patna, and give out that the young nabob was ill : this was performed in seven days, and during that time, except the people who were intrusted with the secret, the army had no knowledge of the young nabob's death.

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This was the conclusion of the colonel's campaign, who soon after his arrival at Patna received advice of Mr. Vansittart's arrival at Calcutta, as governor.

Mr. Holwell who had succeeded lord Clive in the chair, only by virtue of his rank, in order of succession; and the certainty of another governor being soon appointed, was known to the whole country; and of course, that degree of respect which the nabob would have had for a governor appointed by the company, was not paid to Mr. Holwell, who acted as president in the interim, of another's daily expected. Mr. Holwell soon saw this and resented it. The nabob's weak and irresolute character gave still more disgust to Mr. Holwell, who had too much sense to find fault with his councils and his measures. He became sensible that this man whom lord Clive had raised to the misnud to serve his private views, was worse in every respect than his predecessor; and wished for another revolution. Thus every subsequent governor of Bengal actuated by private pique, or displeased at the public conduct of the nabob's appointed by the companies, thought he had a right to change the system of the nabob's of Bengal's government, and even to depose them at pleasure. Colonel Caillaud being applied to, as commander in chief, to second the designs of Mr. Holwell, delivered his sentiments on the subject, with the candour and freedom of an honest man, in the following terms.

" Bad as the man may be, whose cause we now support, I cannot be of opinion, that we can get rid of him for a better, without running the risk of

of much greater inconveniences, attending on such a change, than those we now labour under. I presume the establishing tranquility in these provinces, would restore to us all the advantages of trade we could wish for, the profit and honour of our employers; and I think, we bid fair to bring that tranquillity about by our present influence over the subah, and by supporting him, than by any change which can be made. No new revolution can take place without a certainty of troubles, and a revolution will certainly be the consequence, whenever we withdraw our protection from the subah. We cannot in prudence neither, I believe, leave this revolution to chance; we must in some degree be instrumental to bringing it about; in such a case it is very possible we may raise a man to the dignity, just as unfit to govern, as little to be depended upon, and in short, as great a rogue as our nabob; but, perhaps not so great a coward, not so great a fool, and of consequence much more difficult to manage.

As to the injustice of supporting this man on account of his cruelties, oppressions, and his being detested in his government; I see so little chance in this blessed country of finding a man endued with the opposite virtues, that I think we may put up with these vices, with which we have no concern, if in other matters we find him fittest for our purpose.

As to his breach of his treaty, by introducing the Dutch last year, this I believe cannot admit a doubt. Colonel Clive before he left the country, seemed to excuse what was suspicious in his conduct in that affair, by giving out, it proceeded not from actual

actual guilt, but from the timidity of his nature, But if we still suspect him from further circumstances, we always have it in our power to put it to the test at once, by making him act as he ought, whether he will or no.

With regard to drawing our swords against the lawful prince of the country, no man can more pity his misfortune than I have done, nor would any one be more willing and happy to be instrumental in assisting him to recover his just right. But, such a plan, is not the thought of a day, nor the execution of it the work of a few months ; there is a powerful party still remaining : the vizier with the Maratta's and Jutes, who notwithstanding the constant success of Abdallah against them, still make head against him, and such are their resources and their numbers, that I believe they will at last oblige the Patan's to leave the country ; for though they cannot beat them fairly out of the field, they bid fair to starve them out of the country.

You have no doubt received advice from Mr. Hastings, that Adallah has sent orders to the several powers, to acknowledge the prince, king of Hindostan, by the name of Shah Allum ; rupees are struck by his order at Banaras and Lucknow, in that name ; orders are also given to Sujah Dowlah, to accept the post of vizier ; and our nabob has got, it is said, instructions to acknowledge him, and pay him the obeisance due to the king of kings, as he is styled.

If we were perfectly sure Abdallah would remain, as he says, until he saw the prince well fixed on the throne, and the peace and tranquility of the country restored ; we might, I think, all join together,

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be a match for the Marattas ; but we must be well assured that Abdallah will heartily engage, and when engaged in the cause, will firmly support ; for should his appointment of his be more (as it is possible) than a finishing stroke to end his expedition with the eclat of having given us a mogul, and when a certain number of the country powers had entered into the alliance, he should think of a return to his own country, and leave us to fight it out with the other contending party : I fear the vizier and the Marattas would be too strong for those who remained of the alliance, supposing them to be the Ruellih's, with Sujah Dowlah and the nabob of Bengal. However, supposing all this should take place, why could this not be done with our nabob in our hand, still his friends and his protectors ?

The rains will give us time to negotiate, to see we go on sure grounds, and make such a plan of the alliance as will do us honour, and be an advantage to our country and our employers. But let us not abandon the nabob. Besides the reasons I have urged above, one more still remains, which I believe will have some weight, and make us cautious how we attempt, without very strong and urgent reasons, any change in the present system.

The cause which first gave rise to the present share of influence, which we enjoy in this part of the mogul empire is well known. A just resentment for injuries received, was the first motive which induced us to make a trial of our strength ; our successes enlarged our views, and made us chearfully embrace all opportunities of increasing that

that interest and influence, both on account of the advantages, which accrued from it, to the honourable company ; as likewise, the hopes that it might in time prove a source of benefit and riches to our country : such were, I believe, the motives of the honourable company, when they solicited and obtained colonel Coote's regiment from the government ; and such, I am certain, is the plan which the colonel proposes on his return to pursue and to support, in hopes to convince the ministry, and the company, as he is convinced himself, that if they please to support his project, it will prove of the greatest advantage to the public.

All we can wish to do is, not to suffer the nabob to impose on us, and to check every beginning of an independence he may endeavour to assume. I think, we must put an end to our fighting system, and talk coolly on affairs, &c."

However, colonel Caillaud approved in September a revolution, which he had disapproved in May, and the motives of this seeming inconsistency, were, that the president of Bengal could not preserve the ascendancy which lord Clive had over the nabob, which flowed from the sense of the favours he had received from his maker. He declared, he had put off by delays, and sometimes with reasons every change of system in the nabob's government, which though he adopted Mr. Holwell's plan in his mind, yet he was desirous to wait till the arrival of a permanent governor. That till then, he thought of nothing but temporary expedients, formed to the day and to the minute. That the extraordinary death of the nabob's son had

made a great change in the situation of affairs in that country. The confidence he had in Mr. Vansittart's abilities and judgment, made him without reluctance adopt his plan ; he knew his motives, they were honest and disinterested as to himself ; honourable and advantageous to his employers, and such as the necessity of the times, the particular situation at Bengal, the general state of the company's affairs throughout India, vindicated in his opinion. He declared before the committee of the house of commons, being asked, whether twenty lack or any other sum was stipulated for bringing about that revolution ; that the night Cossim Ally Khan signed the articles, for accepting the management of the affairs in Bengal, under Jaffier Ally Khan, (in the presence, as he believed of Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Holwell and himself) the new vice-nâbob, after expressing the many obligations he had for our intended good offices in his favour, tendered a paper to Mr. Vansittart, which as this gentleman interpreted, contained a note for 20 lacks of rupees, payable to the gentlemen then present, who all concurred in desiring Mr. Vansittart, agreeable to the same disinterestedness he had professed, to return that paper to Cossim Ally Khan ; telling him, that he mistook their motives for his advancement. He pressed on Mr. Vansittart again the acceptance of the paper, telling him, that if they continued to refuse that favour, he should fear that the gentlemen present were not well pleased with the appointment. Mr. Vansittart, who knew his own motives, as well as those of the gentlemen in the committee, told Cossim Ally Khan, returning him the paper again,

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" When you have paid off all arrears due to the company, to your own troops; that the peace of this country is settled, and that your own treasury is full ; if then you think proper to make us any acknowledgment for the services now done you, we shall not then be unwilling to accept such marks, as you will be pleased to give us of your friendship." The affair ended there, and colonel Caillaud declared solemnly upon his honour, there was no stipulations, no partition treaty, or any thing of the kind mentioned then or after, to his knowledge, of that transaction.

Colonel Caillaud said, he little expected after thirteen years service in that country, and nine of them in the field ; that the little fortune he made, should become the object of so public an enquiry ; but, he was happy to meet this enquiry more than half way, and the more so, in this particular point ; as perhaps it may give him an opportunity of doing justice to the memory of the man from whom he received singular favours, meaning Mr. Vansittart, who conferred them with his usual delicacy and generosity ; so that he knew not but to this minute, the sum he received upon the occasion, and that he was willing and ready to declare, may be charged to his account.

After Cossim Ally Khan was placed in the government, he went up to the army at Patna, came down again, embarked for the coast in January 1761, remained there a year and an half, and coming back to Calcutta, called there upon extraordinary business. In October, 1762, Mr. Vansittart then going to Monghyr, told the colonel, " If I am happy enough to settle with the nabob

the unfortunate differences that have subsisted between him and my council, and, that I can with propriety remind him of the services, you jointly did him; I shall certainly endeavour to serve you." Mr. Vansittart went up to Monghyr, and embarked on board a ship for Europe in the year 1763. Colonel Caillaud received an account current from Mr. Vansittart, in which he found credit for two lack of rupees, unsolicited as he had mentioned before, and much beyond his expectations; and this, upon his honour, was the whole he received directly or indirectly upon that occasion; so little was money his object or thought, that he never enquired or knew what others might have got upon the same occasion; and, that if money had been his object, he should have been more curious in his inquiries. It is not stated in the account from Mr. Vansittart, from whom the two lack came, but he supposed from Cossim. He said Cossim took possession of the house and effects of Meer Jaffier, after Jaffier had taken out every thing that he wanted. It appears that Meer Jaffier rather than consent to the terms proposed, sent for Cossim, and gave up the government to him immediately.

A member of the house being present, desired to acquaint the committee, that he was chairman of the company at that time, and was the principal cause of colonel Caillaud's coming home, in order to do justice to a character he entertained a high opinion of; that the court of directors entered into a minute enquiry, when he was unanimously acquitted, and returned to India with higher honours.

Mr. Sumner stated his reasons for assenting as a member of the select committee, to the measure of

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posing Meer Jaffier, and placing Coffim ally Khan on the Misnud ; and said, that without insinuating on the public treaty on the part . of Meer Jaffier, in the instance of the Dutch invasion, and the many other doubtful parts of his conduct; the irregularities of his private life, or the crimes and cruelties with which he was charged ; he would rest the reasons for his conduct on the necessity of the reformation, from the extreme difficulties and imminent dangers, the affairs of the company, as well as those of the state were reduced to by the jealousies, indolence and inactivity of the nabob Meer Jaffier, and the bad administration and corruption of his ministers, in the collection and dissipation of the revenues ; and adding to these, the intestine troubles through the whole country, he was of opinion and still continued firm in the same, that it would have been impossible to have supported the system of government then established two months longer, and that embarked as they were with Meer Jaffier they must have inevitably shared in his ruin. Mr. Sumner wished to have it understood, that when the committee first entered into negotiation with Meer Coffim, the only idea was reformation in the ministry ; not a revolution in the government, and that it was the unexpected obstinacy of Meer Jaffier alone, not an original design of the committee, that placed Meer Coffim on the Misnud ; that he believed it was a circumstance as little thought of by Mr. Vansittart as by himself, when he left Calcutta, on his visit to the nabob, for the purpose of those reformations ; but, he readily admitted the necessity of the subsequent change made by Mr. Vansittart, every part of which, from his intimate knowledge of

of the man, he gave the fullest credit to. He repeated; that he was and still remained of opinion, that the destruction of Meer Jaffier's government made the intended reformation necessary, and having gone full lengths, there was no room for receding ; and that, on the whole, he flattered himself when all matters were duly weighed, his conduct would stand justified in the opinion of every candid and impartial man, whether he was considered as a subject of this kingdom, or as an immediate servant of the company.

The Dutch being alarmed at the daily encroachments of the English company, and foreseeing the precariousness of their establishments on the Coromandel coast, should the nabobs of Bengal be reduced to the state of abjection, they have been of late years brought to ; Mr. Bisdom, director of Chinsura, wrote to the nabob Jaffier Ally Khan divers letters, the substance of which is as follows :

" Our settlement was established here long before the English, and other nations entered this kingdom, of which we were eye-witnesses. Our power was then greater, as well as our trade ; but now we perceive, that both our power, interest, and wealth are lost, whilst that of other nations daily increase. In this case, what course have we left ? our dishonour and shame is almost inevitable.

For this reason, and for the security of our possessions, as well as for the service of your excellency, I have sent for troops into this country : you are our master and sovereign, and therefore I hope for your protection, and wait your order to bring our troops to this place. I beg to observe, that nothing but the law of the strongest could prevent

rent the Dutch from sending reinforcements to Chinsura, as the event shewed it, and they acknowledged no other sovereigns than the nabobs of Bengal, consequently, they had the same right as the English to augment the garrisons of their establishment for their security, and lord Clive took upon himself to oppose them by military force in open violation of the peace betwixt the two nations. However, it seems that even Meer Jaffier himself, the creature of lord Clive, did befriend the Dutch in secret, and was more apprehensive of the English power, than of a Dutch invasion.

As our nation, continued the Dutch director, has always been encouraged by the favour of your excellency, and more particularly from that time, when having a favourable regard to our company's business, you repeatedly assured our chief of Cossinibuzar, of your attachment, considering these circumstances, I was extremely surprised, that your excellency during your residence at Calcutta entered into an agreement, that you would strengthen the fort of Maha Tenna, in order to prevent the Dutch from coming this way, and also give a note to the English, directing them to oppose the coming up of our army. All these things considered, it seems plain to us, that your excellency did not enter into the agreement, or gave this order from any ill opinion of us, but it is all to be imputed to the overbearing and rapacious spirit of the English but, if any one enters into an agreement through force or distress, and afterwards does not abide by it, he will stand justified by the laws of God and man, particularly the governor of a kingdom, who wishes for nothing else, but the good of his country.

try and the prosperity of his people. I am therefore in hopes, through your justice and favour, that you will recede from your agreement and order, and that we shall obtain an order from your excellency, for bringing up of our army ; and also, that a positive order may be given to the English on no account to molest them ; for we sent for the said army into this country, in consequence of your direction. The king's revenues are greatly detrimented, and the country almost ruined, and of this you can only look upon the English as the sole cause. Our nation formerly brought considerable sums of money into this kingdom, and did not carry any ; and now the English are so powerful, that no trade can be carried on by us, for which reason no money now arrives, and the English yearly remit considerable sums. By this means the revenues of the country are greatly decreased, and therefore how will you be able, without great difficulty, to maintain your forces ? and when your enemies come upon you, you will not then be capable of opposing them : this time if you will favour the company they will ever be at your command, and your present anxiety and uneasiness may be removed. Your excellency cannot take a better step, and I hope you will take this into your favourable and serious consideration, and return me a proper answer.

The troops were brought here for the security of the ships : this I acquainted your excellency of several times. During their stay in camp, they molested no man, nor had any disturbances with the country people : this also you are well assured of ; it was never my intention they should fight, but

but the English hoisted Moors colours, and immediately came down upon them, and a battle ensued. I was desirous that some advantage should arise to the riots from the sale of the goods when they were brought up; and intended to have landed on board the ships, the salt-petre and other goods that were bought, and with the people that came here, dispatch them to Europe; but the English would not permit the boats to pass. I am willing to act up to our agreement, and hope your excellency will adhere to it also: in this we entirely depend on your favour. The company have for a long time carried on trade here; and therefore earnestly desire you will continue to them your favour and protection, as we are not able of ourselves to root out our enemies."

Indeed the nabob of Bengal was bound by the second article of the treaty, to prevent any ships or troops of the Dutch coming into Bengal, and certainly the Dutch would have acted as our enemies had they been permitted to introduce seven or eight hundred Europeans: the pretended hostilities were but reprisals for the injuries they had received from the English company. The strength of the Dutch before that operation, in all their factories amounted to about 150 military men, which was not sufficient to protect them.

In the course of the examination before the select committee appointed by the house of commons, in regard to presents received by the company's servants at the revolution, which placed Cossim Ally Khan on the Misnud; Mr. Sumner confirmed in his deposition Mr. Vansittart's disinterestedness: the witness declared the cause of his dismission

from the company's service, was his having signed a letter to the court of directors, as one of their council among many others, wherein they expostulated on what they thought harsh and undeserved treatment; that this letter gave the directors such umbrage, that every man in India who had signed it, was dismissed without the least regard to the merits or length of their services.

Several months after Cossim's establishment, Coja Petrus, the nabob's agent in Calcutta, presented Mr. Sumner in the name of the nabob, with 10,000/- from the time of his dismission, to his leaving Bengal. The 20th of January 1762, he received further, and in the like manner at different times the sum of 18,000. This was a free and voluntary gift, as by far the largest part of the present was received after his dismission. Mr. Sumner considered the transaction honourable, and never made a secret of it. Mr. Holwell who was of the council, received two lack and 70,000 rupees, Mr. Mac Guire one lack and 80,000; Mr. Culling Smith one lack and 34,000, Major Yorke, who commanded the detachment immediately attendant on Meer Cossim, one lack and 34,000. It was not known, whether Mr. Vansittart received any thing, as he had declined receiving the nabob's first offer on account of the exigencies of the state which were pressing, and had declared to Cossim, that if when the company was settled, he found himself in a situation to gratify his friends as he thought proper, he would for his part, under such circumstances, freely accept any token of his regard, and supposed the other gentleman could do the same. Indeed, considering that presents are received

received indiscriminately in India, and that self-interest is the only motive of actions there ; Mr. Vansittart's generous refusal on this occasion cannot be too much commended.

As Meer Jaffier at the time of the revolution, had not discharged his debt incurred by his treaty with the company in 1757, a balance remained due, for which when the assignments in the Burdwan country were given up, the company received jewels and other effects, which were considered as full security, not as payment.

It seems the nabob Cossim Ally Khan, had suffered much uneasiness by Mr. Vansittart's refusal of the obligation of 20 lack of rupees, and said, he apprehended Mr. Vansittart and the council were not so much his friends as he wished, upon which, Mr. Vansittart gave him the strongest assurance of

out foundation, for he always seemed ready to come to a fair and equitable account. The governor and council thought proper afterwards to give contrary directions respecting that unfortunate man. Whilst major Carnac was at the head of the company's forces, refused absolutely, for reasons better known to himself, to obey such orders, alledging this was a dishonourable act to deliver this man to his enemy.

Colonel Coote having succeeded major Carnac in the command of the army, pursued the same measures with respect to Ramnarain. The colonel gave his opinion of his disapproval of the revolution in favour of Cossim, as a measure he thought would be productive of the loss of the reputation of all persons concerned in it.

Upon colonel Coote's arrival in Bengal, he found there two different parties of the council ; the one that had formed the revolution, and the other that disapproved of it, and as the affair had happened, however unfortunate, he thought it might prove, he made it his business to endeavour to reconcile the two parties, with a resolution at that time, not to interfere in any matter of business or politics, where he thought no honour was to be gained. However, he was over persuaded by Mr. Vansittart and the other gentlemen of his party, (as a measure which they imagined would be of great service to the company) to go up to the army at Patna ; accordingly, he desired they would give him instructions to proceed by. It plainly appears by them, That the governor and council had two objects in view in sending him there ; one was the fixing a plan of operation upon the supposition that they

they should be able to conduct the Mogul to Dehly; the other to secure and protect Ramnarain in the province of Patna. Upon his arrival at Patna, he applied with the closest attention to the business upon which he was sent there, and informed the Shawzadda of the sentiments of the board towards him; and the desire the English had to assist him to the utmost of their power, which he seemed very sensible of, and very desirous of having; at the same time, desiring that he might be proclaimed and acknowledged by us, as he had been by different powers in Indostan :—the Shawzadda thought it very extraordinary, that where he himself resided, there he was not acknowledged. Colonel Coote informed Ramnarain, that he had orders from the governor and council to protect him, provided he would settle his accounts with the nabob, and therefore desired him immediately to set about it, informing the nabob of the same. During these transactions the colonel received a letter from the board, recommending it to him to proclaim the king : he found that an immediate compliance to this request, might prove of fatal consequence to the nabob, and to the company at that time; for he had given away several of the best provinces to different people that belonged to him, particularly Purnea ; he therefore thought it, to the best of his judgment, for the advantage of the company and the nabob, as it was the prince's inclination to let him go to Sujah Dowlah ; at the same time he had got the nabob to consent to that measure, and to pay a visit with him to the prince; that it was thought adviseable, both by the nabob and several of the company's servants who were present, that . the

the nabob for himself, and colonel Coote on behalf of the English, should coin the siccis, and acknowledge him Mogul on the day that he should pass the boundary of the province, this he seemed satisfied with, till it was agreed, that major Carnac with part of the army should escort him, the major informing colonel Coote, in proper time of the day he should join Sujah Dowlah, in order that he might keep his promise, the nabob consenting entirely to all this matter; and at the same time agreed, that if they prosecuted the expedition, and settled matters with Sujah Dowlah, that he would advance the ten lach towards the payment of the company's forces. The king was but a few days gone, when the nabob seemed to alter his sentiments entirely, with regard to the promises he had made, and turned his thoughts towards the seizing of Ramnaraian, for which, if colonel Coote would give him up, he offered him seven lach and a half of rupees, and whatever he pleased to the gentlemen of his family, this, the Colonel communicated by letter to the governor and council. The nabob finding he could not gain his point, with regard to Ramnaraian, then thought it necessary to write the governor, Mr. Vansittart, the most scandalous invectives and false accusations against the colonel, and was determined, that he would not declare the king, they had both given their words of honour for doing it. The nabob had then a large army encamped on the outside of Patna. Colonel Coote was in the city and from the detachment which he had made, and which were sent for, the collection of the revenues with major Carnac, he had not then under

under his command above 150 Europeans, 70 of which were in the hospitals, and about 300 seapoys; he was with this force to protect Rammurain, the city, and to defend his own honour. The nabob knowing his weakness, thought it a proper opportunity to get possession of the city. He applied to the colonel for leave to come into the fort of the city, the day before the Mogul was to be proclaimed; to which colonel Coote agreed, and he seemed thoroughly satisfied, provided he only brought in the attendants about his person: this he consented to: the night, before the Mogul was to be proclaimed the nabob, sent the colonel word, that he would not proclaim him, nor come into the city, unless he had the gates delivered up to him, which he would by no means consent to; at the same time, the colonel informed him, that he had given his honour for declaring the Mogul on such a day, and that he would have the ceremony performed in the city, which would not appear proper in the eyes of the country, as he was subah of the province, and begged to have a conference upon the subject, which the nabob declined; the colonel was informed by his spies, that that very night the nabob's camp was all in motion, and his artillery brought towards the city.

Colonel Coote sent next morning to one of his chief ministers, to learn the reason of such a movement, and the meaning of the nabob, which he told him was done by Coja Gregery, who was his head general; and he was not afraid to say, at the Durbar that it would be productive of mischief. Finding the next night the same movements and disturbances in his camp, the colonel thought it necessary

necessary to go the next morning himself, and to see him if possible; accordingly, he ordered a company of seapoys and a troop of thirty horsemen, to get themselves in readiness by six in the morning, at which hour he sent Mr. Watt's to inform the nabob of the colonel's coming. It was seven before he arrived at his tent, and Mr. Watt's informed him, that the nabob was not to be seen; he had sent to him, but had not seen him: he went into the outer tent, taking pistols in his hands for his own security and sat down there till he should hear farther; as it is a custom in India, when they mean ill to a person that visits them in camp, to cut the tent cords, and let the tent fall on the person they mean to destroy; colonel Coote desired captain Ifser to place two of the troopers round the tent, to prevent any mischief of that kind, and finding the nabob would not see him, he rode away, and left Mr. Watts to inform him of his business: this the nabob represented to the governor and council, as a grievous insult, for which the colonel received severe letters from the board, and at his return to Calcutta, he desired a strict enquiry might be made, which was done, being honourably acquitted of the nabob's false imputations. The colonel had been ordered to withdraw the protection from Ramnarain, which he did accordingly: he was soon after murdered and his treasure seized.

Colonel Munro's deposition before the select committee appointed by the house of commons, coincides perfectly with this excellent officer's character and reputation, as a man of great honour and veracity, a great disciplinarian, whose military skill

skill and conduct joined to a cool intrepidity quelled the mutinous spirit of the army, which he led afterwards to victory. His evidence extremely interesting in every particular is in substance as follows :

"He was in April 1764, under the king's orders, from his majesty's secretaries of state and war, to return to Europe, with such of his majesty's troops as did not chuse to enlist into the company's service ; but, before he embarked for Europe, two expresses arrived from Bengal, acquainting the governor and council at Bombay, that Sujah Dowlah and Cossim Ally Khan had marched into the province of Bengal at the head of 60,000 men. Major Adams who commanded the army was dead ; that the settlement of Calcutta was in the utmost consternation, and the company's affairs in the utmost danger : they therefore requested that the governor and council would apply to him to go round immediately to take the command of the army with his majesty's troops, and as many as could be spared from the presidency of Bombay. As his majesty's intention in sending out troops to India, was to assist and defend the company in their different settlements, he complied with the request, and arrived at Calcutta with his majesty's troops, and a detachment from Bombay some time in May. Mr. Vansittart who was then governor, acquainted him, that the army under the command of major Carnac had been upon the defensive, since the death of major Adams ; and Sujah Dowlah, with his army having invaded the province ; he retreated before the enemy. Mr. Vansittart requested colonel Munro to join with the troops he had carried from Bombay, to join the army who were in cantonment at Patna, and take

the command of them. He found the army, Europeans as well as seapoys mutinous, deserting to the enemy, threatening to carry off their officers, demanding an augmentation of pay and large sums of money, which they said had been promised them by the nabob : and disobedient to all order, 400 of the Europeans had gone off in a body, and joined the enemy some time before he joined the army. This being the situation the army was in, he fully determined to endeavour to conquer that mutinous disposition in them, before he would attempt to conquer the enemy. He accordingly went with a detachment of the king and company's Europeans from Patna, with four pieces of artillery to Chippora, one of the cantonments. The very day the colonel arrived, a whole battalion of seapoys with their arms and accoutrements, went off to join the enemy. He immediately detached about 100 Europeans, and a battalion of seapoys, whose officers told him, they thought they could depend upon them not to desert, with two field pieces, to endeavour to come up with the deserters; and bring them back to him ; the detachment came up with them in the night time, found them asleep, took them prisoners, and carried them back to Chippora. The officer who commanded the detachment sent him an express, acquainting him with the hour he would arrive at Chippora with the prisoners. The colonel was ready to receive them with the troops under arms ; upon their arrival, at Chippora, he immediately ordered their officers to pick him out fifty of the men of the worst characters, and who they thought might have enticed the battalion to desert to the enemy ; they did pick out fifty, he desired them to pick him out twenty-four

four men of those fifty of the worst characters : he immediately ordered a field court-martial to be held by their own black officers, and after representing to the officers the heinous crime the battalion had been guilty of, desired they would immediately bring him their sentence ; they found them guilty of mutiny and desertion, sentenced them to suffer death, and left the manner to him. Colonel Munro ordered immediately four of the twenty-four to be tied to the guns, and the artillery-officers to prepare to blow them away. There was a remarkable circumstance, four grenadiers represented as they always had the post of honour, thought they were entitled to be first blown away ; the four battalion-men were untied from the guns, and the four grenadiers tied and blown away ; upon which the European officers of the battalions of seapoys, who were then in the field, came and told him, that the seapoys would not suffer any more of the men to be blown away. He ordered the artillery officers to load the four field pieces with grape shot, and draw up the Europeans with the guns in their intervals ; desired the officers to return at the heads of their battalions ; ordered them immediately to ground their arms, and if one of them attempted to move, he would give orders to fire upon them, and treat them the same as if they were Serajah Dowlah's army. They did ground their arms, and did not attempt to take them up again, upon which he ordered sixteen more of the twenty-four to be tied to the guns by force, and blown away the same as the first, which was done. He immediately ordered the other four to be carried to a cantonment, where there had been a desertion of the seapoys some time before, with positive

orders to the commanding officer at that cantonment to blow them away in the same manner as the guns, which was accordingly done, and which put an end to the mutiny and desertion.

The colonel took the field after the rains, and fixed the 15th of September for the rendezvous of the troops from their different cantonments. A couple of days before the army marched, he had intelligence that the enemy had advanced several parties of horse, and had thrown up some breast-works on the banks of the Soane, to impede the crossing of the troops. He ordered Major Champion with a detachment and four field pieces, to march, and cross, the Soane, some miles below where the army was to cross: after fixing with him the hour and day that he intended to arrive at the Soane with the army; the colonel desired that he might be at that time on the other side, and endeavour to dislodge the enemy, and cover the landing of the troops. He was so punctual in executing his orders, that he began to fire upon the enemy just as the van of the army appeared upon the banks of the Soane, and soon dislodged them, by which means the whole army in four hours was landed on the other side, without the least molestation. The colonel continued to march on towards Buxar, where the enemy was. The last two or three days the line of march was a good deal harrassed by the enemy's cavalry, so much, that two serjeants, and six or seven men of the advanced guard were killed. On the 22d of October, he arrived at Buxar, and encamped with the army just without range of the enemy's shot; and upon Colonel Munro's going to reconnoitre their situation with some of the field officers, he found the greatest part of them en-

entrenched, with the Ganges upon their left, and the fort, or village of Buxar, on their rear, he intended to have attacked their camp about one or two in the morning of the 23d, and sent out spies to bring him some intelligence, to know whether he could bring his artillery on the right of their camp, resolving not to attack them on their left, that he might have a better chance to drive the enemy into the Ganges, he likewise wanted to know, in what part of their encampment the force of their artillery lay, and where the vizier and Cossim Ally Khan's tent stood. The spies did not return to camp till twelve at night, they reported, that the enemy were under arms all night, moving their artillery, and sending off their women and treasure in the night. Colonel Munro went immediately with some other officers to look at their disposition; many of their troops were under arms, but not out of their entrenchments. The colonel and the officers who had accompanied him, thought they only meant to shew themselves, in order to strike a terror into the English troops, never imagining they would quit their lines in order to attack them, as a black army never before attacked a European army, the British commander returned to the camp, wishing the enemy would come out and attack him for his army was encamped in order of battle. About eight o'clock in the morning, the field officer of the day came into the colonel's tent, and acquainted him that the enemy's right was in motion, and he was sure they meant to attack him, he immediately went out with a reconnoitering glass in his hand, and judged the same by the disposition of the enemy, upon which he ordered the drums to beat immediately to arms, which

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was done, and the troops advancing from their encampment, and were in a few minutes ready to receive them. The action lasted from nine till twelve, the enemy then gave way, went off very slowly, blowing up several tumbrels, and three large magazines of powder as they went off.

Colonel Munro immediately ordered the line to break into columns and pursue. The enemy had a bridge of boats over a rivulet, two miles from the field of battle, they pierced the boats, and sunk them before the rear of their army got over, by which means there were about 2000 of them drowned and sinking in the mud ; that was the best piece of generalship Sujah Dowlah shewed that day, because, if the colonel could have crossed the rivulet with the army, he would either have taken or drowned his whole army in the Caramnassa, and come up with his treasure and jewels, and these of Cussim Ally Khan, which amounted to between two and three millions.

The strength of the English army at this battle was as follows :

Europeans in battalion rank and file, 746, of which 240 were king's troops ; artillery men 71, European cavalry 40, in all European 857, exclusive of officers ; seapoys, rank and file, 5,297 ; black cavalry, 918, in all 7,092 ; train of artillery, 20 field pieces. European officers killed, two ; wounded, seven ; European soldiers killed, 34 ; wounded 49 ; non-commission officers killed, three ; wounded six ; European killed and wounded, 101 ; seapoys killed, 205 ; wounded 414 ; missing, 85 ; black cavalry, killed 45 ; wounded 24 ; killed and wounded, 847 ; artillery taken in

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the field, 133 pieces of different sizes, all upon carriages, and most of them English. The enemy were no less than 40,000, exclusive of those drowned, 2000 of them were killed in the field of battle. As there were no surgeons to dress those of the English army that had been wounded, and give them assistance, Colonel Munro went for five days successively to every man of the enemy's wounded in the field, and give rice and water to such as would take, which was all he could give them. The army remained at Buxar for several days, until hospitals were provided for the wounded, and to bury the dead. He then marched the army into Sujah Dowlah's country, and sent an express to Calcutta for farther directions from the governor and council. The Mogul, Shah Allum, wrote him a letter the day after the battle, giving him joy of the victory over the vizier, who had kept him as a state prisoner; and desiring I would take him under my protection, and acquainting me, that though he was with the vizier in camp, he had left him the night before the battle. Colonel Munro answered, that he would immediately send an express to Mr. Vansittart, the governor at Calcutta, but that he would not take him under protection until I knew how far such a step might be proper, and for the interest of the company. He sent to the colonel and wrote to him repeatedly before he had an answer from Calcutta, desiring the colonel to come to him, for he had something very particular to communicate to him. The colonel at last sent him word, that he would wait upon him, provided he would not look upon himself as under the English protection, to which he consented.

sented. When colonel Munro waited upon the Mogul, he told him, that if the English would take him under protection, he would give them Sujah Dowlah's country, or any thing else they pleased to demand, and repeated many grievances and hardships that Sujah Dowlah lay him under, and said, he was only his state prisoner. The colonel continued his march with the army towards Banaras, and the Mogul continued to march with his guards, and encamped every night, pretty close to our encampment. Before the army arrived at Banaras, colonel Munro had an answer from the governor and council, who consented, that the king should be taken under protection. Upon the army's arriving at Banaras, Sujah Dowlah sent him his minister Beney Bahadre, with overtures of peace, which the colonel refused, because he insisted upon it in the first instance, that the nabob would deliver him up, Cossim Ally Khan and Sumro, the former had ordered so many of the subjects of Great Britain to be massacred, and the latter undertook to put the horrid crime in execution, when no man in the nabob's army would undertake it but himself. Sumro was a German, and a general officer ; and had been before a serjeant in the French service, deserted from them to the English, and from them to Cossim Ally Khan. He commanded Sujah Dowlah's army at the battle of Buxar, and had three or four hundred French deserters from the English army under his command. Beny Bahadre told the colonel, Sujah Dowlah never could think of giving up Cossim Ally Khan, or Sumro, but if he passed from that demand, he might have any other terms he pleased ; he said,

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Sujah Dowlah would give 25 lack of rupees, to defray the expences the company had been at in the war, 25 lack to the army, and eight lack for the colonel. This he told him, in the presence of captain Stables and Gordon, who were his aid de-camps : Mr. Stewart, the colonel's secretary and interpreter. His answer was ; if the vizier gave me all the lacks in his treasury, I would make no peace with him, until he had delivered me up those murdering rascals; for I never could think that my receiving eleven or twelve lack of rupees, was a sufficient atonement for the blood of those unfortunate gentlemen that were murdered at Patna, nor a sufficient atonement to the grief of their parents, friends and relations ; these were his words Upon this, Bene Bahadre, and he parted. He returned a second time, with assurances from Sujah Dowlah, that if colonel Munro made peace with him, he would put him upon a method of laying hold of Cossim and Sumro, and made use of all the persuasive arguments he could to induce him to make peace. The colonel, still insisted upon his first preliminary : Bene Bahadre desired, if that was the case, that he would permit captain Stables, who spoke the country language, to return with him to the nabob's camp ; that the nabob wanted to speak to captain Stables. The colonel, told the captain, that as he was fully determined never to depart from the vizier, giving up Cossim, and Sumro in particular, he did not wish or advise him to go, for that they might use him the same way as the other unhappy gentlemen at Patna Captain Stables replied, that he would with pleasure risk his own life, could he be the instrument of bringing these

two to be made public examples of. He accordingly went to the nabob's camp with Bene Bahadre, and when the captain returned, he told the colonel, that since the vizier found he was fully determined to have Cossim and Sumro, in regard to Cossim, he would for no consideration whatsoever deliver him up, but let him escape; but as to Sumro, if he sent two or three gentlemen from the English camp who knew Sumro, he would ask him to an entertainment, and in the presence of these gentlemen, he would order him to be put to death. He offered captain Stables a sum of money, to endeavour to prevail upon the colonel to agree to his terms; but, as he never would, the next thing to be considered was, the manner of driving Sujah al Dowlah entirely out of his country, who was then at Lucknac with the remains of his army; and to consider of the manner of settling his country.. Colonel Munro, wrote to Calcutta to the governor and council, and sent them a letter he had received from the king much about this time; proposing that he should have so much of Sujah Dowlah's country, and cede the rest to the company, requesting him to make no peace with Sujah Dowlah. He desired to know the directions of the governor and council with regard to this matter, acquainting them likewise, that he was determined to leave the army so as to return to Calcutta, to embark with the last ship that should sail that season with his majesty's troops. The governor and council sent a copy of a treaty to be executed by the king, which was done accordingly, present the chief of Patna, &c.

Colonel Munro left the army, January the 6th 1765, and met major Carnac upon his way to take

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the command; he told him, what his plan of operations would be, hid he remained in the command. He held it as a rule, never to be departed from in that country, not to come to a general action with the army, except where every thing is at stake, as he was in possession of the greatest part of Sujah Dowlah's country, he had determined to remain some time longer in the camp, as the vizier's army must of course disperse when his money was out. He proposed afterwards, to have marched the army towards Lucknor, and to have risked a battle to take possession of this place and Illahabad; major Carnac said he would follow the same plan His campaigns mentioned before, have shewn how much his military conduct differed from that of colonel Munro, by whose prudence, sagacity and resolution, the governor, council and all the servants at the company's settlements in Bengal and elsewhere, were freed from all apprehensions, of Sujah Dowlah and Cossim, as the victory of Buxar, had put it out of their power to intrude the company's territories. Their investments for Europe were carried on that year in the same manner as usual; they had no enemy nearer the settlement of Calcutta than 800 miles, and that enemy at the head of the remains of a conquered army: this was the prosperous situation colonel Munro left the country in, and before he embarked for Europe; and before general Carnac joined the army, sir Robert Fletcher took possession of Illahabad and Lucknor, and totally dispersed the remains of Sujah Dowlah's army.

Colonel Munro attributed the mutinous disposition of the troops, when he took the command, to a relaxation of discipline, and to the benefit they thought

thought themselves entitled by their successes, and for having remained so long in the field. These Europeans that mutinied, and deserted to the enemy, mostly French, and some Germans, mixed with the English companies.

It appears by Colonel Munro's evidence, that the Indian princes get their artillery from England, Holland, and France. There is hardly a ship that comes to India, that does not sell them cannon and small arms ; the gunpowder they make the most of it themselves. They cast shot in abundance, but there is no black prince that casts cannon but the king of Travelcore. The cannon and military stores are smuggled into the country. Indeed the company has made some examples, and such a practice might be easily prevented.

The company may raise as many battalions of seapoys as they please. One method to make them faithful and good soldiers, is a strict discipline. Another, is to incorporate them with Europeans, allowing them to follow their own customs and manners with regard to religion, when it does not interfere with their duty ; they should be well paid, and have good cloathing ; taking better care of them when they are sick, and using them with more lenity in every respect when they behave well. The number of European officers should be increased amongst them.. The colonel's opinion is, in order to preserve our conquests in India, to keep always a proper force of Europeans in that country, never suffering the company's servants to make war against the country powers, until it is evident that they are the first aggressors, making proper

proper laws in the country, and enforcing their execution.

He thinks an establishment of no less than 4000 men should be kept in the Bengal provinces, to defend them against all the country powers who make war against the English, and to counterbalance the black troops who must be necessarily employed in that country, and who are capable of being brought to discipline almost equal to the Europeans. About 700 men in time of peace are sufficient yearly to supply the recruits, necessary to maintain an establishment of 4000 men. Any foreigners whatsoever, never ought to be employed by the English in that country, there have been frequent examples of foreigners deserting to the enemy when in the field, and they cannot be depended upon in time of action. The Catholics of Ireland might be very well and safely employed as private soldiers. One third of the Europeans should be cavalry, which is certainly, of very great use, in that case, the company should not want an establishment of black cavalry, being of no use in time of peace, and in time of war, only of use to keep the line quiet on the march.

It has been the custom from time immemorial for captains of English ships to sell arms and military stores to the natives of India. The French, Dutch, and Danes always did the same, and there is no probability of preventing other nations from carrying on this trade. Though it might be a dangerous experiment to train the seapoys so as to make them equal to Europeans, they cannot be governed without a strict discipline.

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The King gave a jaghire to Colonel Munro; who was sometime in possession of it: this jaghire upon some of the provinces in Bengal, amounted to 12,500l. a year for life, in consideration of the colonel's services to the Mogul and the country. Upon the receipt of it, he wrote immediately to Mr. Spencer, who was governor of Calcutta, acquainting him with the king's benefaction. The colonel received his answer after he had quitted the command of the army, and Mr. Spencer acquainted him that his receiving such a jaghire was so much contrary to the interest of the company, that they never would suffer him to hold it; that, the company had gone to law with Lord Clive about his jaghire, and requested that he would deliver it up to the Nabob when he should see him, who would not only behave handsomely upon the occasion, but that the company would never see him the sufferer from such an act, after the services he had done them. From that moment, he resolved to deliver it up to the Nabob, and upon his arrival at Muxadavad, he waited on the Nabob, who was then ill at his palace, and told him, that he had got a jaghire from the king, but as he was returning to Europe, he would leave it with him. This was in the presence of Mr. Middleton, residing at the Durbar, Captains Gordon and Stables. The Nabob, upon receiving the jaghire, smiled, and said to the colonel, "This a piece of generosity I am a little accustomed; but if I live you shall not be the sufferer." He ordered his minister, Nund-comer to desire the interpreter to acquaint the colonel, that he begged his acceptance of two lacs of rupees, which would be at Calcutta about the

time of his arrival there. Colonel Munro received at Calcutta a letter from the nabob's son, acquainting him with his father's death, requesting his interest for him to succeed his father as subah, and assisting him, as he knew the whole transaction of the jaghire, and the promises his father made to the colonel, that he would make them good ; and in this situation colonel Munro left his jaghire, and his lacks. Since he came to England, Mr. Spencer wrote to him, that he had acquainted lord Clive with the demands he had upon the government, and that his lordship promised him, if there was so much remaining of the nabob's outstanding debts, he would order the payment of the two lacks of rupees to the colonel's attorney. I am very happy said he, before the committee, from his lordship's eminent services to this country and the company, that he has a more responsible fund for the payment of his jaghire ; at the same time, I cannot help regretting that his lordship did not think my two years rent deserved a better fund than the nabob's outstanding debts. Let my small services be rewarded as they may : let individuals think of them as they please ; I hope facts will come out before this committee is at an end, to shew them and the world, that this country has been served ; that this East-India company has been saved by more than one or two men ; many brave and gallant men have done honour to their king, have done service to this country, and have saved the East-India company ; and some of them have lost their lives in the cause. I never received any part of the two lack, nor any present from the East-India company).

At the time the Mogul granted the Jaghire, the nabob did not pay to him any revenues or acknowledgments from Bengal. When lord Clive was upon the spot, the colonel thought his lordship's neglect, intimated a mean opinion of his services, otherwise he would have ordered the nabob to pay the two lacs due to him. Mr. Spencer had been offered ten lac of rupees, if he would continue Nundcomer, about the person of the nabob, which he refused.

When colonel Munro saw the king first, he offered him the Dewanee, he had offered it before to Sir Eyre Coote after the Mogul's father's death: Mr. Vansittart had the same offer, which he declined, not knowing how far he could be justified in such an act, or how far it might be detrimental to the company. The reasons for colonel Munro's refusing the same advantage were, that he formed no plans of any kind, but that of extricating the company from the danger that threatened them.

The governor and council ought to be the judges of whatever is conducive or prejudicial to the interest of the company, and the colonel knew what was for the honour of his majesty's troops to be concerned in. The mogul could and would have done any thing at that time that the colonel desired without the consent of the nabob, and the company would have reaped any benefit that they pleased from the king's unlimited concessions, as ever since Cossim had been drove out of the country, the company themselves have been the nabob. Colonel Munro declared, that could he have foreseen the ingratitude and the injustice of the company in regard to him, since his arrival from India, he never

would

would have given up his jaghire. While he had the command of the army, he refused the offers of above 300,000l. at different times for making alterations in the offices of the government, and he never received a single rupee by way of present; either in money or jewels, except 10,000l. from Bulwanising, for having maintained him in the zemindary of the country. Colonel Munro's evidence does equal honour to his military conduct and disinterested principles. The victory of Bušar from the great force of the enemy, and the number of the artillery, is one of the most interesting that was ever fought in India. Such a success at one blow, so as to defeat utterly Sujah Dowlah and Cossim's designs against the Bengal provinces, was attended with the most important advantages to the company. The colonel's skill and activity before the opening of the campaign, and his judgment in leading them into the field, with the excellent disposition he made for receiving or attacking the enemy, cannot be too much commended, and ranked him above most English commanders in Indostan.

With respect to the jaghire, it is equally contrary to the honour and the interest of the company, that it should thus become tributary, as it were to its own servants; and the soliciting or even accepting, a grant of the sovereignty of the company's possessions, appears so inconsistent with that relation, that it is as illegal, as it is improper. The East-India company, sensible that the jagheer given by Ally Khan to lord Clive, arising out of the lands granted by the nabob to the said company, was an encroachment upon their possessions; directed the governor and council of Bengal not to pay any farther

ther sum to lord Clive on that account ; in consequence of which, all future payments of the rents claimed by lord Clive as a jagheer, were ordered to be stopt. Upon which, his lordship thought fit to commence a suit in the court of chancery against the company, insisting on a title to those rents. The directors instructed their servants to take the proper steps to inform themselves of the real state of the facts, material to the discussion of the several questions upon which the plaintiff's claim appeared ; and, in particular, to make proper inquiries into the authenticity of the pretended patent from the mogul, creating lord Clive an Iman, or Omra, of the empire, which he made the foundation of his title, deriving from it a capacity to accept a jaghire, and a right to expect one. If no such patent had been ever issued, as they had great reason to believe, or, if any of the usual forms necessary to make it valid and effectual were wanting, they would have been decisive against him. The manner of obtaining the supposed grant of the jaghire from Jaffier Ally Khan, the nabob's motives, intentions, &c. were to be minutely enquired into, and in case, there should have been (as lord Clive's own letters led the directors to suspect) any imposture in any of the instruments supposed to have formerly issued, or if any thing of that kind should be attempted at this juncture, they were to spare no pains nor expence to detect it. They were directed to make immediately effectual applications to the courts of Dchly and Muxadavad, to prevent the issuing any new grants or confirmations, by which the plaintiff might supply the defects of his present

sent title, or acquire a new one, though he should have none at present : they were so fully sensible of the many inconveniences to the company, which such a title, should it be established, would occasion, that they made the strictest enquiry into the foundation of the claim, and if there was no title at present, they were to use their best endeavours to prevent the acquiring one. If these rents were to be paid, they thought it, upon many accounts, much more for the interest of the company to pay them as usual to the nabob, for the use of the mogul, than to any pretended grantee of theirs. Circumstanced as things were at Bengal at the time the late nabob was induced to make the grant, which gave occasion to his lordship's claim, they thought the company had a right to expect to be released from this tribute altogether, and that their present claimant, then governor of the company's settlements, and commander of their troops, ought to have employed the influence this station gave him, in procuring this concession for the company's benefit instead of his own. The present situation of things encouraged them still to hope, that both the mogul and the reigning nabob might be prevailed upon to relinquish these rents in favour of the company, as well for the sake of the revenue, as to prevent the company being ever again embarrassed with a claim like the present. The governor and council at Calcutta were directed to use their best endeavours to obtain that concession, in case these rents were still in their disposal.

For the purpose of carrying those orders into execution, Mr. John Spencer, or Mr. Warren Hastings, with

with some other of the company's servants as were best qualified by their equity and knowledge of the language, were ordered to Muxadavad and Delhy to undertake this negotiation; and in case lord Clive was to employ an agent in Bengal, to assist him in any thing relative to the matters in dispute between him and the company; none of the council were to accept this office.

These instructions, dated 30th December, - 1763, lord Clive had repealed on his going to India the last time, when he was appointed governor and commander in chief of the army in the Bengal provinces.

As his lordship has severely animadverted on Mr. Vansittart's conduct, for having deposed Meer Jaffier; we shall set forth the causes of the resolution unanimously approved by the governor and council.

The nabob Jaffier Ally Ichhan was of a temper extremely tyrannical and avaricious, at the same time, very indolent: the people about him were either object slaves and flatterers, or else the base implements of his evils. There was no chance of having the affairs of the government properly conducted, but by their removal. He attributed all the ill success of his affairs to imaginary plots and contrivances, and sacrificed lives without mercy to the excess of his jealousy: numberless were the instances of men of all degrees, whose blood he had spilt without the least assigned reason: he had caused to be murdered the mother, the widow, and the daughter of Serajah Dowlah; besides several of his great officers. The nabob of Dacca refused to obey the cruel order of putting

ting to death all the survivors of the family of the nabob Aliverdee Khan and Serajah Dowlah, and the messenger who had private instructions to execute this tragedy, in case of the other's refusal, massacred, and drowned them, with about twenty women their attendants.

Executions of this kind had made the Nabob, the dread and detestation of all good men ; and he necessarily became a prey to the people of mean extraction and abject disposition, who knowing that a government so managed could not stand long, sought only to make themselves rich by oppressions of all sorts, upon the country and inhabitants. To the heavy taxes laid by them on the markets, was ascribed the unusual scarcity and dearness of provisions at the city, the capital of a country once esteemed the most plentiful in the world.

His confidants were men of low birth, who engaged him continually in idle and vicious amusements, keeping him by that means in utter ignorance of his affairs, and in a state of indifference as to their success. No money came into his treasury; at the same time, nothing was paid to his army, insomuch that his troops mutinied, and surrounded his palace in a tumultuous manner, threatening to take away his life, which they would certainly have done, had not his son-in-law and successor, the Nabob Cossim Ally Khan, become answerable, and paid them a very large sum out of his own treasury. The imminent danger with which his person was threatened on this occasion, awakened him for a moment; but it was no sooner removed than he fell back into his usual

lethargy. The same unworthy ministers remained still his only counsellors, and continued in the management of his affairs to the last day of his administration, which he left in so confused and impoverished a state, that in all human appearance, he would have been cut off by his own seapoys, and the city become a scene of plunder and disorder before another month could have elapsed ; having made no provision for the payment of the long arrears due to his people. After Cossim Aliy Khawn had freed him from his former extremities, this danger he could not but foresee, and more than once declared his apprehensions, yet he had not the power to exert the necessary means for preventing it, but sunk the deeper into dejection.

Besides this intestine danger to which the government was exposed, two armies were in the field, waiting only for the fair weather, to advance ; the Sha Zadda towards Patna, and the Baarboom Rajah towards Meershadabad, the capital. The Rajahs of the countries bordering upon the mountains, were ready to shake off their dependence, and had already offered considerable supplies to the Baarboom Rajah. Another Rajah had committed open hostilities, and taken possession of all the country above Boglepoor, which entirely stopped the communication between the two provinces on that side of the river. In a word, the whole country seemed ripe for an universal revolt, these parts only excepted, which from their natural weakness, or neighbourhood with the city, intimidated them from taking up arms. To encounter all these difficulties, there was nothing but troops without pay, from whom,

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therefore, no great efforts could be expected. Of this, a very remarkable instance occurs in the detachment which was ordered against the Baar-boom Rajah, three months before the Nabob's abdication, but never advanced more than three leagues from the city, in which situation they continued upon Mr. Vansittart's arrival at Calcutta.

All who were acquainted with the transactions of the government, know that this is a true description of facts; and all that are convinced of the facts, must agree, that affairs were at an extremity no longer to be neglected, without manifest danger of having the province over-run, and the trade entirely ruined. Mr. Vansittart was resolved, therefore, to use his utmost endeavours to get these bad ministers removed; and judging it might be difficult to prevail on the Nabob to part with his favourites without some degree of violence, he brought with him a detachment of Europeans and seapoys, under pretence of sending them with Colonel Caillaud to re-inforce the army at Patna.

Mr. Vansittart arrived with the colonel at Cosimbazar, the 14th of October, and the next day the Nabob paid them a visit. The 16th, they went to the city, and returned the visit on the 18th. The Nabob came to Moradbaug, by appointment, to talk upon business; in the conversation which Mr. Vansittart had with him in the two former meetings, he had taken occasion to represent to him in general terms, the bad management of his ministers, the miseries and universal disaffection of the country, and the desperate state of his, as well as of the company's affairs; in order to give him a more full and clear view of the evils brought on, through

through the weakness of his administration, and to point out the means of their removal, he had prepared three letters; which, after a short and friendly introduction, he delivered to the Nabob, who seemed much affected by the perusal of them, but endeavoured more to put an end to the conference than to propose a remedy to the evils.

Mr. Vansittart, however, prevailed on him to send for his dinner at Moradbaug', and in a manner insisted on his coming, to some determination for the immediate reform of the government, at length he confessed himself, through age and grief, for the late loss of his son, uncapable alone of struggling against so many difficulties ; that he had much better take the assistance of one from amongst his relations, on whose true attachment and fidelity he might more safely rely : he named five or six, and amongst them Cossim Ally Kawn : Mr. Vansittart asked him, " Which of that number was most fit to assist him in his present exigencies ? " he replied without hesitation, " That Cossim Ally Kawn was the most proper ; nevertheless it was with the utmost difficulty, Mr. Vansittart could prevail on the nabob to send for him ; and so very late, that before Cossim could arrive, the old nabob was so extremely fatigued, and in such a state of anxiety, that he could not refuse his return home to take his rest. He was convinced indeed, that it was to no purpose to detain him : for such was the jealousy he discovered with respect to Cossim Ally Kawn that Mr. Vansittart perceived he never would consent, without some sort of force, to give the other the means of settling order to his affairs. An hour

hour or two after the nabob's departure, Cossim Ally Cawn arrived, and seemed to be extremely apprehensive, that the nabob instead of trusting him with the management of his affairs, would endeavour by some means or other, to get rid of him. Mr Vansittart agreed therefore, in opinion with him, that he should not go to the nabob's house until measures were taken for his security. This resolve, however, to give the nabob the next day (the 19th) to reflect upon the letters before-mentioned, in hopes, that he would propose some measures of regulation. Mr. Vansittart heard nothing from him all day, but found by his intelligence, that he had been in council with his old advisers, whose suggestions he was sure would be contrary to the welfare of the country in general, and that of the company in particular. He determined therefore, to act immediately on the nabob's fears : there could not be a better opportunity than that the night of the 19th afforded, it being the conclusion of the Gentoo feast, when all the principal people of that cast would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies ; accordingly, Mr. Vansittart agreed with colonel Caillaud, that he should cross the river with the detachment, between three and four in the morning, and having joined Cossim Ally Kawn and his people, marched to the nabob's palace, and surrounded it just at day break : Mr. Vansittart being extremely desirous to prevent any disturbance or bloodshed, wrote a letter to the nabob, and delivered it to the colonel, to send to so him at such a time as he should think most expedient. The following is a translation of it.

" I have been waiting all this day in expectation that you would have settled some of the weighty and urgent affairs upon which I yesterday conferred with you, and that you would have acquainted me with your determination ; but, you have not favoured me with any answer concerning them ; from hence it plainly appears, that as long as these evil counsellors remain about your person, whatever I may represent to you for your prosperity and welfare, and the good of the country, will have no effect. The folly of these people will soon deprive you of your government, and prove the ruin likewise of the company's affairs. I have judged it improper, that such evils and disgrace should be brought upon us for the sake of two or three men ; for this reason, I have sent colonel Caillaud with forces to wait upon you ; when the same colonel arrives, he will expel these bad counsellors, and place your affairs in a proper state : I will shortly follow. Let not your excellency be under any apprehensions, but chearfully receive the colonel, and give orders to your men, that they commit no disturbance, nor raise tumults in the city. I solemnly declare, that I have no other view, but your good and welfare : look upon me as your sincere well-wisher, and remain satisfied."

Measures had been taken at the same time for seizing three of his chief counsellors ; the intention of Mr. Vansittart being only to remove these unworthy masters, and to place Cossim Ally Kawn in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy or successor to the nabob : the necessary preparations being accordingly made, with all the care and secrecy possible, the colonel embarked with

with the troops : joined Cossim Ally Kawn without the least alarm, and marched into the court-yard of the palace just at the proper instant ; the gates of the inner court being shut, the colonel formed his men without, and sent the letter to the nabob, who was at first in a great rage, and threatened he would make what resistance he could, and take his fate. The colonel forbore all hostilities, and several messages passed between him and the nabob. The affair remained in this doubtful state about two hours, when the nabob finding his persisting was to no purpose, sent a message to Cossim Ally Kawn, informing him, he was ready to send him the seals, and all the ensigns of dignity, and to order, the Nabob to be stuck up in his name, provided he would agree to take the whole charge of the government upon him, to discharge all the arrears due to the troops, to pay the usual revenues to the King, to save his life and honour, and to give him an allowance sufficient for his maintenance. All these conditions being agreed to, Cossim was proclaimed, and the old nabob came out to the colonel, declaring that he depended on him for his life : the troops then took possession of all the gates ; and notice being sent to governor VanSittart, he immediately repaired to the palace, and was met by the old nabob in the gate-way ; he asked if his person was safe, which seemed now to be all his concern. I told him, that not only his person was safe, but his government too, if he pleased, of which it was never intended to deprive him. The nabob answered, " That he had no more business at the city, that he should be in continual danger from Cossim, and that if he was permitted to go and live at Calcutta,

he should be extremely happy and contented. Mr. Vansittart could not help lamenting his sudden fall; yet he was not sorry for this proposal, as he knew affairs would be much better managed without him; and his retaining a share in the authority (however small) could not fail to cause such perplexities as might prove in so critical and dangerous a juncture, of the worst consequence to the administration. Cossim Ally Kawn was accordingly seated on the misnud, and the governor paid him his congratulations in the usual form; all the jamindars and persons of distinction at the city, came immediately and made their acknowledgment to the new subah, and in the evening every thing was as perfectly quiet as if there had been no change; the people in general seemed much pleased with the revolution, which had this peculiar felicity attending it, that it was brought about without the least disturbance in the town, or a drop of blood spilt.

The nabob did not think himself safe even for one night in the city: Cossim supplied him with boats, and permitted him to take away as many of his women as he desired, (which he did to about the number of sixty) with a reasonable gratuity of jewels. Mr. Vansittart furnished him with a strong escort of Europeans and seapoys, and intended to lodge him at Najazeel, but he would not trust himself there, and begged he might sleep in his boats, close to Miradbaug, which he accordingly did. He continued at Miradbaug the next day, and in the evening the governor visited him with colonel Caillaud. He appeared then pretty easy, and reconciled to the loss a power, which he owned to be rather a burthen than a pleasure, and too much for his abilities to manage, since the death of his son;

son ; the enjoyment of the rest of his days in security under the English protection, seemed to be the chief object of his wishes.

On the morning of the 22d, he set out for Calcutta, and arrived there the 29th ; he was met by a deputation from the council, and treated with every mark of respect due to his former dignity.

When Mr. Vansittart was at Madras, colonel Clive frequently wrote to him upon the state of the affairs of this country, and told him, that whenever he returned to Europe, he would procure his appointment to the government. The friendship and connections between the nabob and the colonel, whom he called his son, were well known to Mr. Vansittart ; but on his arrival he observed, that the English forces employed in the nabob's service, and in the support of his government at Patna, were kept without their pay. The forces of the sircar stationed in these parts were disaffected to the service for want of pay. The seapoys of Marshabad had surrounded the palace in a tumultuous manner for the arrears of their pay, and endangered the nabob's life. His ministers from their covetousness and bad dispositions, had set aside all justice, were plundering the poor without cause, destroying the subjects with wanton barbarity, and bringing ruin and desolation on the country. A scarcity of provisions never known before in the Bengal provinces, had reduced the people of all degrees to the greatest distress ; which was entirely owing to the bad management of the old nabob's ministers. All the lands and villages were in a state of desolation ; the ministers of the sircar regarding only their own interest, neglected the welfare of the subjects, and oppressed the industrious.

in rapine, violence, and injustice. Mr. Vansittart came to his government in the midst of these calamities ; when the dignity of the nabob, the reputation of the company, and the prosperity of the country were almost expired. It required his abilities to remedy all those evils, even for the present, and to surmount such difficulties. Though his enemies have impeached his conduct and judgment, particularly lord Clive, for having placed on the misnud the treacherous Cossim, whose interest Mr. Vansittart himself was afterwards obliged to abandon ; he could not foresee the ingratitude and villainy of Cossim, who before his elevation had supported the character of a man of sense and moderation.

Those who had publicly declared their dissent from this revolution, and expressed their entire disapprobation of the measures pursued in consequence, alledged the following reasons. "They complained that the whole board had not been consulted, otherwise this measure would have been rejected by the majority. They said, that when Mr. Vansittart, urged the old nabob's immediate compliance with what he had proposed to him, with a military force." The nabob returned for answer. " That such usage was what he never expected from the English ; that whilst a force was at his gates he would enter into no terms, and that it was his desire our troops might be returned to Murad-bang. When colonel Caillaud threatened him to storm the palace, astonished and terrified by this menace, the nabob opened the gates ; exclaiming that he was betrayed, that the English were guilty of perfidy and breach of faith ; that he perceived their

their design against his government ; that he had friends enough to hazard at least one battle in his defence , but although , no oaths were sacred enough to bind the English , yet as he had sworn to be their faithful friend , he would never swerve from his engagement , and rather suffer death than draw his sword against them " So suspicious was he , according to their report , of being sold , that he desired to know what sum of money Cossim was to give for the Subahship , and he would give half as much more to be continued He hoped , however , if they intended to dethrone him , they would not leave him to the mercy of his son-in-law , from whom he feared the worst , but rather wished they would carry him from the city , and give him a place of safety in Calcutta They represented this last request of the nabob , as the effect of his fear and despair , which was immediately laid hold of , and construed in the light of a voluntary resignation That the old nabob had been hurried into a boat , with a few of his women and necessaries , and sent away to Calcutta in a manner unworthy of the high rank he had so lately held , is was also the scanty subsistence allowed him by his successor

That Jaffier Ally Kawn had been deposed in breach of a treaty , founded upon the most solemn oaths , and in violation of the national faith , a prince of whose friendship and attachment they had had so many signal proofs , and in whose cause had been employed with great success .

In regard to the army laid to Jaffier's charge , which to those unacquainted with the Eastern governments will appear deserving of the highest resentment

sentment from a civilized nation ; such is the state
 of politics in every Asiatic court, that through the
 apprehensions of the sovereign, and the intrigues
 and artifices of the great men about him, instances
 of cruelty and oppression are but too frequent ; and
 even the most beloved amongst them are taxed
 with conniving at these acts of violence, often
 committed by persons in power without their know-
 ledge ; as there are no regular punishments for
 criminals of high stations, recourse is often had to
 the dagger, or poison, to punish the guilty. The
 enemies to the revolution pretended this to be the
 case in most of the instances alledged against Jaffier
 Ally Kawn ; they accused Cossim of having dis-
 covered a greater propensity to cruelty, when being
 in possession of the palace, he was desirous of mak-
 ing the first act of his power the assassination of
 Jaffier, and was very much displeased when he
 found we intended to give him protection at Cal-
 cutta. Since his accession to the subahdary, they
 charged him with numberless acts of cruelty and
 extortion, and of having made the more immedi-
 ate objects of his ill usage, those who had been the
 most avowed friends of the English. Indeed, want
 of money was the greatest difficulty the nabob la-
 boured under, but this did proceed from the distract-
 ed state, in which the country had been ever since
 colonel Clive's departure ; so that a very small
 part of the revenues came into his treasury. Some
 of his countries were assigned to the company for
 the payment of his debts, and others under contribu-
 tions of his enemies ; and though the force we
 had in the field, under major Carnac was more than
 sufficient

sufficient to repel the invaders, no material advantage was gained over them, but by continual marches and countermarches, our own armies became as destructive as those of the invaders.

They affirmed that Cossim was despised and disliked before he came to the minnud, and that his behaviour since, had been so oppressive and tyrannical, that it could not fail confirming the public hatred of him. They could not however deny, that the company acquired by this revolution a considerable addition of territory, and received a larger yearly revenue.

They complained of Cossim increasing the number of his troops, notwithstanding the actual tranquility of the provinces, and that he was arming and disciplining as many sepoys as he could procure, in the European manner, to make himself more formidable. That he was erecting a large fort at Rajahmundry, which he proposed to make his place of residence, and hoped to be out of the reach of the presidency.

I hat instead of checking the overgrowing power of the present nabob, it was duly promoted, as he had the absolute command of the company's forces at Patna, the chief there, having had directions to let him have what number of troops he pleased to demand, without being allowed to judge of the nature of the service for which they are demanded.

Notwithstanding this zealous attachment to Cossim, they were apprehensive he would not act the part of a faithful ally towards the company, as he betrayed a continual distrust of those who had appeared any ways attached to the company.

They represented the nabob's large army as a burthen upon the provinces, and only kept up to screen him from the king's power, and through his jealousy of the company, which if reduced, would have eased the country of an immense expence.

There is no doubt, that many grievances complained of against Cossim after his establishment on the misnud, were real; and in justice to Mr. Vansittart's memory, we exculpate him of any selfish views in this revolution, since he was convinced of his error afterward, and finding he had been mistaken in his opinion of Cossim, he approved of the measures taken to deprive him of the power he had abused.

The committee appointed to enquire into the nature, state, and condition of the East India company, and of the British affairs in the East Indies; being determined to state the material parts of the conduct of the company's servants, with respect to the powers intrusted with them by the company, in the civil and military departments, in the administration of justice, in the accepting of presents, in the management of trade, and in the revenues and coinage, conceived the transactions concerning Ramnarain, naib or deputy governor of Patna; under Jaffier Ally Kawn, to be of material consequence, as they contributed chiefly to bring on the war with Cossim Ally Kawn.

Lord Clive, a member of the committee, being requested to relate what were the engagements entered into by Ramnarain with the nabob, said, "There was no engagement in writing; that after his lordship was called up to the assistance of Meer Jaffier, his excellency desired him to write to Ram-

narain,

brain, assuring him of the English protection; for that Rammarnain would put confidence in such a letter, but not in one from himself, and that he should by that means get possession of his person, and might cut off his head: that his lordship told him it was not the custom of the English to be guilty of such transactions, but that if he was inclined to reduce him by force of arms, he was ready to assist him. His lordship afterwards wrote to Rammarnain, that if he would come into the presence and acknowledge the nabob, he should be kept in his government on the same footing, as he had been under Serajah Dowlah. That he came accordingly, paid obedience to the nabob, and was confirmed in his government, upon condition that he should pay the nabob Meer Jaffier, the same rents or tribute, as he had paid to Serajah Dowlah; what that was, his lordship did not tell, but he declared he was to have paid a certain sum, which might have been increased and decreased upon various circumstances. That, when he took leave of Meer Jaffier, at his departure for England, he talked over with him the state in which he left the province. That he always understood, that Rammarnain remained in the government of Patna, through the English protection, much against the inclination of Meer Jaffier; and that, if his excellency had had any complaints to have made against him, he would certainly have made them to his lordship; but that none were made.

Mr. Mac Guire whilst he was chief at Patna, had received orders for delivering up Rammarnain, which he would not execute. His opinion theretthe

the service; but his person protected, he understood by the term dismissing him, that his guards should be withdrawn, and that he should be totally suspended from all interference in the government, till his accounts should be settled. and that when he was to be dismissed, he was informed that force if necessary, was to be used to prevent the nabob's seizing him.

Mr. Mac Guire in his correspondence with the governor and council, had advised that Ramnarain should be delivered over to the nabob's court of justice, that he might be compelled to make up the accounts of the firar, for, whilst he found the governor and council were mediators with the nabob, not to dishonour him, he knew he could not be obliged to comply, and under this shelter the nabob could not bring him to justice. Mr. Mac Guire declared, he did not mean to subject him to the various methods used by the nabob's court, to force a person by torture to settle their accounts; and when Ramnarain came into the kellah, previous to his being delivered over, he had besides the nabob's word, the protection of the English, provided he could settle his accounts with the government. It appeared from Mr. Mac Guire's evidence, that he had received from Collimally Kawn 70,000 rupees, on delivering the keys of the kellah at Patna, which was a short time, previous to the period when Ramnarain was removed from the government of Patna. He never recd to the court of directors the receipt of this present. The country having been in a state of war for a considerable time, previous to the delivering up of Ramnarain, the rents could not be regularly collected under

der these circumstances.. It had been stipulated by the council, that Ramnarain should pay to the nabob of Bengal for the rent of Bahar, three lacks of rupees a year; that he should pay the tribute to the Maratta's, the Jaghirdars, and to keep up a certain number of forces, all which might amount to forty lack of rupees a year.

The nabob did not admit that such agreement had been made; but if it had, Ramnarain could not want a sum sufficient to make his payments to the nabob. His manner of raising money was by receiving presents from different rajah's to a large amount, without ever collecting the rents, regularly. Mr. Mac Guire did not deliver over Ramnarain till the 19th of August 1761, the very day he was dismissed from his office of chief at Patna, when he gave him to Mr. Hay under a guard of protection, and Ramnarain compromised matters with the nabob for 50 lack of rupees in the beginning of September following.

Though the terms on which Ramnarain was to hold the government of Patna were not known, it is certain, some engagements were entered into by Lord Clive, to support him in the Naibat. The English protection was withdrawn from Ramnarain, immediately after Mr. Mac Guire's dismission from Patna, and upon his removal the military command was placed under the chief of the factory, as was usual when the commanding officer present was not above the rank of a captain, and the field officers were called away, that it might be so on this occasion. There had been no disputes betwixt the civil and military powers, previous to Mr. Mac Guire's recal, which might account

count for it : Ramnaratn was at last put to death by Cossim Ally Kawn, as well as Raja Bullub his competitor, and almost every Gentoo in the province of any rank or fortune, most of which sect were well disposed to the English, and rich. According to Mr. Vansittart's minute, the 20th July 1761, Ramnaratn was stated to be highly culpable towards the nabob, and his conduct had put it out of the power of the president and council to protect him longer in so shameful an injustice : but it was said in his vindication, that the province of Bahar' had been a scene of war and desolation the whole preceding year, so that all resources from thence were cut off. Indeed the jealousies, the nabob Cossim Ally Kawn entertained of the company's servants, engaged him to make exemplary punishments of those who should seek protection of them, in regard to the seizing, and putting to death Harris Choudry in the year 1762. He had been one of the company's contracting merchants at Cossimbazar factory, and had likewise been employed as the company's agent at the nabob's court. At the time he was seized, he was in some employment under Cossim Ally Kawn. When Mr. Vansittart made him nabob, he permitted Mr. Mott, an Englishman, to reside at Muradabad, as a bunker, Choudry complained that Mr. Mott, presuming on the influence he had over the nabob, by Mr. Vansittart's means, had seized a house and some land at Muradabad, which belonged to him, and in consequence of Choudry opposing by force this piece of injustice, Choudry was seized, and after some confinement blown away from the mouth of a cannon. Mr. Vansittart did not use his influence

to save him, deeming his execution a just reward for his rebellion.

The first causes of the war between Cossim Ally Kawn and the company, might be traced from the publication of the Mongheer treaty ; as soon as it was promulgated, the nabob Cossim Ally Kawn, sent orders to all his zemindars and officers to prevent the English from trading in salt, beetle-nut and tobacco.

It appeared, that the nabob had given instructions to stop the English in their trade, all but his friends Vansittart, and Hastings ; and that the breach of Cossim Ally Kawn, arose from his desire and intention of making himself totally independent of the English ; though some attributed it to the inordinate desire of the company's servants to carry on the trade of the country, without paying him his duties. Indeed, the English in general traded duty-free ; and prior to the year 1757, in all articles, except salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, salt-petre, and chutto silk, which were all farmed out. Salt is an import at Bengal, being made at Mas-salapatam and in Persia. The English began to trade in salt about the end of 1757 ; soon after which it became general. Cossim Ally Kawn threatened to lay open the trade in Bengal duty-free ; and if the order had been put in execution, all nations would have been on the same footing as the English. Cossim Ally Kawn was really determined, from the beginning, to set himself out of the reach of the English power, as expeditiously as possible ; and it was natural he should do so, having no security for the English faith, being better kept with him than his two predecessors. He ex-

expressed his resentment on all occasions against such persons of the country as had any intercourse with the company's servants, so that none of the officers of the government dared visit them in the familiar manner which had been usual for three years past : he removed the seat of government from Muxadabad, which had been the metropolis of his predecessors, and chiefly resided at Mongheer, which was at a considerable distance from the English settlement. In all parts of the country, of Mongheer and Dacca particularly, they were busily employed in making arms for him. He dismissed most of the troops employed by Meer Jaffier, from a suspicion of having an attachment to the English, and got a new set of mogul officers in his service, who brought new troops with them : he raised and disciplined, a considerable number of sepoys, and collected a large army at a great expence, which must have been designed to act offensively, as by the treaty with the English, they were to lend him assistance in case his affairs required it : he endeavoured to cut off the communication between the factory at Patna and the city, by shutting up a gate contiguous to the factory, and fenced the part of the city towards the river with a wall, to the great inconvenience of the company's boats ; and this could only have been done with hostile intentions, as the vicinity of the factory, and the English troops therein, were the best defence he could have on that side. In fine, the chiefs of every factory complained of such oppressions and violations of the English rights, as indicated an absolute determination to quarrel.

The Armenians were accused to be the principal advisers in these measures, as they seemed to
with

wish to have the English extirpated from the country, that the principal share of the commerce might be carried on through them. One Coja G egorv was at the head of his army, and he had several Armenians in the command of his sepoys battalions.

The English undoubtedly had been guilty of glaring abuses in the article of trade, in open violation of the treaties, and, indeed, the inland trade that was illegal, proved the source of the disagreement with Cossim. He naturally believed, that every gentleman who did not approve of the revolution, was hostile to him, and from thence he was charged of having been guilty of several instances of disrespect to the company's servants, because he had refused a visit from Mr Ellis, *an undignified*, said general Carnac, before the committee of the house of commons *that had never before been referred to the chief of a factory*. Had Mr Carnac been more conversant with the difficulties of obtaining formerly an audience from the nabobs of Bengal, and the submission of the company's servants when after repeated solicitations they were admitted to their presence, he would not have presumed to abuse the condescension of the committee, appointed by the house of commons, in calling *indignantly* the refusal of a visit from a sovereign to an obscure member of a mercantile society, which in England, any man denies to his equals without being called to account for his uncivil behaviour. It seems as if every paltry chief of a factory looked upon himself as a potentate, and the eastern princes who granted them settlements, and

afforded them protection, are now reduced to the humiliation of being intruded upon by all those little European upstarts, when it is their pleasure to insist upon an explanation, with sovereigns whom they have levelled with their own clafs. Mr. Carnac's ideas must have been strangely altered ever since he was a needy lieutenant in Abercorn's regiment. *Quantum mutatus ab illo.*

Mr. Ellis, indeed, as the general declared, must have been of a very warm disposition, to have shewn such an implacable resentment on this occasion.

General Carnac being farther examined, in regard to the military transactions of that period, said, that on the 1st of January, 1761, he took the command of the army, which lay encamped close to Patna, the capitol of the province of Bahar, then in a most distracted state. The Shahzadda, who had in his service monsieur Law, with the shattered remains of his countrymen from Chandernagore, was in Congar Kawn's country, no more than fifty miles from Patna, where the disaffected Rajas flocked to his standard, and every zemindar made a pretext of the troubles, to evade payment of his stipulated revenue, so that all resources from that province were at a stand. Moreover, the Indostan troops, who composed part of the army, were grown outrageous from the changes of government, as they despaired recovering the immense arrears of pay due to them, by the deposed nabob. The protection afforded by the English to the Shahzaddah occasioned much discontent and jealousy to the nabob Cossim Ally Kawn; nor was the prince easy on his part, having been exceedingly

ingly alarmed by an insurrection in his camp. He suspected this insurrection to have been set on foot by Cossim Ally Kawn, and finding that neither the presidency, nor the nabob; were in a condition to favour him, to the extent of his wishes, he was solicitous to leave the English army

All possibility of accommodation from the continual series of disputes which had subsisted between the English and Cossim Ally Kawn, being cut off by the inhuman murder of Mr. Amyatt, and the gentlemen of his family, and his attendants, as they were returning under the faith of a safe conduct to Calcutta, a war was declared against him the beginning of July 1763. The restoration of Meer Jaffier was resolved on, and he was proclaimed accordingly.

Major Adams of His majesty's 84th regiment, upon whom the chief command of the army had devolved, after colonel Coote, made his way through every opposition to the capital, and possessed himself of it by storm.

After a campaign commenced and prosecuted under the inconceivable hardships and difficulties, which inevitably attend being in the field during the violence of the wet season in Bengal, Cossim Ally Kawn was driven out of the provinces, and signified his flight by the unparalleled and barbarous massacre in cold blood, of every English gentleman, civil and military (Mr. Fullerton excepted) and of a number of other persons, amounting in the whole to near 300, who had the misfortune, through mischances of war, to be his prisoners.

In the progress of this war, Cossim was finally expelled out of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and

Orissa. On the fourth of July it had been determined by the board, to proclaim Meer Jaffier, nabob, having the preceding day, received some alarm on account of Mr. Amyatt and the Cossimbazar factory, though no certain intelligence had been procured; the letter-carriers having been driven from their respective stations, by order of Cossim Ally Kawn. On the 10th, they received intelligence of the total defeat of the troops at Patna; and a confirmation of the massacre of Mr. Amyatt. On the 11th, the nabob Meer Jaffier, after having concluded the treaty with the governor and council, left Calcutta to join the army, then advanced to Agurdeap. On the 19th, they came to an engagement with the enemy under the command of Mahomed Tucky Kawn, at Bullopota, when they gained a complete victory, in consequence of which, the enemy abandoned Cutwall, a fort on the conflux of the rivers of Cossimbazar and Agar. On the 23d, the army advanced to Chuna Cally, and on the 24th in the morning, stormed the enemy's investments at Mootejil; by which they got possession of Muxadabad, with about 50 pieces of cannon of different calibres. On the 2d of August, the army after crossing a nullah or ravine in the face of the enemy, came to a general engagement with the whole of their troops, in a plain remarkable for the former defeat of Sultan Sujah, called Gariah. The enemy had collected their whole force, consisting of twelve battalions of sepoys regularly disciplined, and 15000 horse, with 17 pieces of cannon, mounted in the English manner, being many of them taken from their army and factory at Patna, and worked by 170 Europeans.

troopers After an obstinate dispute of four hours, in which the enemy broke a part of the English troops, and had taken possession of two pieces of their cannon they attacked his majesty's 89th regiment in front and rear, but the king and the company's forces gained at last a complete victory, the enemy having abandoned all their cannon, together with 150 boats, loaden with grain and other stores. On the 11th, the army advanced to Outahnulla, a fort which the enemy had fortified, being situate between the chain of hills and the river, from the former to the latter, they had thrown up an entrenchment, on which they had mounted 100 pieces of cannon, after having amused the enemy with their approaches and batteries on the bank of the river, where the English army made a false attack, on the 5th of September they made the real one, on the foot of the hill, in which after an obstinate resistance they succeeded, and got possession of the whole of their cannon, having made a very great slaughter of the enemy, and taken about 1000 of their cavalry prisoners.

Cossim had near 60,000 people in arms in that entrenchment, and the whole English army did not amount to more than 3000 firelocks. About the end of September, they advanced towards Mongheer, which having attacked regularly, they made a practicable breach, and the garrison consisting of 2000 sepoys capitulated, at place Cossim had made his capital, and had strengthened as much as his time and circumstances would admit. There they received accounts of the massacre of the English gentlemen and soldiers, who were prisoners of war. At Chibaud, when on march to Mongheer,

major Adams received a letter from Cossim Ally Kawn, signifying his resolution to cut off the English gentlemen in his possession, in case the army should advance further.

It was while the army lay at Chabaud, that they were informed that Ramnarain and Rajah Bullub were sent out in a boat from Mongher, before Cossim had left it, to a little breach in the river, in sight of the garrison, where they were put to death ; and about the same time rajah, Futtasing, and nine more of Ramnarain's relations, were likewise put to death ; and on the advance of the army towards Patna, they found the bodies of the two septs buried in an apartment of a house at Bahar ; they had been put to death by Cossim's order, and exposed under a guard of seapoys, to beasts and birds of prey, that they might not be burned, according to the rites of their religion ; being Gentoos.

About the end of the month, they were advanced to the environs of Patna, which place, after a spirited defence, they made themselves masters of, on the 6th of November by storm, the enemy having on the course of the siege, got possession of one of their batteries, and blown up their magazine. After Patna was taken, the enemy made no further stand. The army advanced about the end of December to the banks of the Caramnassa, the boundary of the province, at which time Cossim with the shattered remains of his army and his treasure, were waiting to complete the bridge of boats over the Ganges, in order to cross over to Sujah Dowlah's country, which he entered on the 4th of December. Cossim Ally Kawn's army was better appointed

pointed and better disciplined, than any Indian army was ever before. The probability of success, must have evidently appeared in favour of Cossim, though the troops under major Adams, were all determined to a man, either to conquer or die, there being no other resource. Cossim Ally Kawn had purchased the greatest part of his field artillery clandestinely of the Europeans ; he had carriages made by his own people from English models ; they were made with elevating screws, and in every respect as good as the models."

Meer Jaffier, some time before his death, had associated in the government, his second son Nudjumul Dowlah, then about twenty years of age, and declared him his successor. Upon the death of Meer Jaffier, which happened in the month of January 1765, Mr. Middleton, then resident at the durbar on the part of the company, was present at the ceremony of placing Nudjumul Dowlah on the musnud, and gave and received the complimentary presents on that occasion.

The governor, and council sent a deputation, consisting of four gentlemen of the council, to the nabob, who concluded a treaty with him. As Nudjumul Dowlah was to be supported in his government by the company, they stipulated such conditions as were convenient to their affairs. From the time, the barrier between the country government and the company had been broke down, contests for power had arisen between them, till in 1763, when the English affairs were brought into a most critical situation by the war with Cossim Ally Kawn. In the new treaty, therefore, with Jaffier Ally Kawn, in 1763, it had been stipulated, that

he should not maintain above 12,000 horse, and 12,000 foot. Thus deprived of power to become formidable to the English, he had no military force that could add strength to the army during the wars with Sujah Dowlah, which for sometime wore so serious an aspect, as to oblige the servants of the company to augment their forces, which, together with the great distance of the scene of action, increased the military expences beyond the extents of the company's funds in Bengal. This was represented to the nabob in October 1764, and he was with difficulty prevailed on to contribute five lacks of rupees per month, towards the expence of the army, so long as the war with Sujah Dowlah should last. The little assistance that had been received from any forces that had been kept up by the nabob, convinced the council, that the entire defence of the provinces must henceforth rest upon the English army.. It was therefore thought wise and prudent to discharge the nabob from the expences of keeping up any military force, but such as should be necessary for the parade and dignity of government ; the distributing of justice, and the business of the collections ; and in order to indemnify the company for the increased burthen of their expences, it was resolved to propose to the nabob, that the temporary assignment of five lacks of rupees per month, should be converted into a perpetuity, so long as the exigencies of the company's affairs should require it, or there was a necessity for keeping up so large a force for the defence of the provinces.

This

This was in fact, the last stroke of policy, which lodged all the military power inherent to the nabob, into the company. They had reduced the number of his troops ; then forced him to pay an annual subsidy for the support of their additional forces, and concluded, by depriving the nabob of a standing army, and imposing upon him a perpetual tribute, towards the expence of the company's new levies to enslave him. The established income of the company at this period, was about 1,400,000 pounds sterling, per annum, including the five lacks per month, and exclusive of Gossipore, which had been ceded to the company by the king, and had yielded to the company near 230,000l. per annum. The military expences, including the charge of fortifications, amounted to about 1,100,000l. per annum : civil expences of settlements to about 200,000l. per annum ; so that there would have remained a clear income to the company of about 350,000l. to be employed in the purchase of investments, exclusive of the profits arising from the sales of goods imported from Europe. Such was the situation of the company in point of income, in April 1765 ; and repeatedly as the directors had enjoined their servants not to extend their territorial objects, the council thought the converting the temporary assignment of five lacks into a perpetuity, was the most eligible mode of ascertaining to the company proper resources for their prodigious military disbursements ; and it has appeared since, that the immense expences they have been at for maintaining formidable armies, were incurred not only to defend the provinces, but to make new conquests, and new encroachments. They

tried to persuade the nabob that he was left in a situation as desirable as any of his predecessors.

The old nabob had been so riveted to Nundcomer, a man of very bad character, that the whole affairs of government had been committed to him without any controul : he had once been convicted before the board of assisting the enemies of the company in their designs on Bengal ; and though very strongly suspected of carrying on a treacherous correspondence with our enemies, during the war with Sujah Dowlah ; yet the nabob, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the board, continued to support him in the plenitude of power. The court of directors ordered he should not be employed in any office of trust, which together with the opinion the board had formed of his character, brought them to the resolution of having him removed from so absolute a sway ; consenting, however, if the nabob should insist upon it, to have him in any lucrative office, with such checks as should prevent mischief to the public. The board therefore came to the resolution of recommending Mahomed Reza Kawn, being the fittest man for their purpose. The immediate collection of the revenues was to be under Roy Dulab, and others devoted to the company, who were become so interested in the business of the collections, that they assumed a right of remonstrating, when people who did not concur into their measures, were employed.

The annual fall of rupees had been considered as a very great grievance to that country : it was therefore made a stipulation in the treaty with Nu-jum zel Dowlah, that he would make jointly with the

the board, proper regulations for removing so great a grievance. The company's deputies, as was expected, met with great opposition from Nundcomer, an artful and ambitious man, whose own power was to be so greatly lessened by the new treaty, proposed to the nabob. The chief objection that the nabob made, was, to the nomination of Mahomed Reza Kawn, of whom Nundcomer had infused to his master so great a degree of jealousy, that the deputies found the nabob strongly possessed with an idea, that the council meant to place Mahomed Reza Kawn on the misnud. The deputies having given him solemn assurances, that there was no such design, the young nabob was at last convinced. They were particularly earnest to have the treaty executed, as they learned that Nujum al Dowlah, by advice of Nundcomer, had applied for sunnuds from the king, intending to take possession of the provinces by virtue thereof, previous to any stipulation with the company; and, on the very day for seating Nujum al Dowlah on the misnud, under the influence of the company, he sent word that the sunnuds were arrived, and it was with some difficulty he was prevailed upon to postpone the public receipt of them. The board had expressed in opinion, that if sunnuds were necessary, they should be obtained only through the influence of the company, and were displeased that Nundcomer had applied for them without their concurrence.

The new treaty having been executed, and Mahomed Reza Kawn having been received by the nabob as his minister, the deputies prosecuted the other object of their commission, which was to ob-

tain such a knowledge of the revenues, as might enable the board to give their sentiments to the nabob on the allotments necessary to be made in the collections. To this Nundcomer gave the utmost opposition, as an enquiry into the revenues was sure to discover any mismanagement of his. The subsequent orders of the board, with respect to Nundcomer, gave the nabob great offence. Mr. George Vansittart had brought down from Patna some strong presumptive evidence, of his having carried on a treacherous correspondence with the enemies of the company, during the war with Sujah Dowlah; upon which, the council positively directed, that Nundcomer should be sent down to Calcutta, to answer the charge. The nabob was very unwilling to part with Nundcomer, but the board persisting in their order, he was sent down to Calcutta.

It was with extreme concern, Mr. Vansittart and his council were driven to the necessity of allowing the forces of the company to pass the boundaries of the Bengal provinces, as the court of directors had frequently expressed a wish, that their servants would not extend their territorial objects. The unprovoked invasion of Sujah Dowlah compelled them to deviate from that line. The battle of Buxar put the English forces immediately in possession of the county of Gassipore; and as it was impracticable for the governor and council, after that event, to withdraw their forces back to their provinces, they resolved to ask the king for succours for that province, as an aid towards defraying the great expences of the army.

When

When the treaty with Nudjumul Dowlah was concluded, lord Clive was expected to come with extraordinary powers ; but, it was impossible for the council who were there, to have left the succession to the musnud so long in suspence, as to have waited his arrival. It would have been equally improper to have allowed the young nabob to exercise the powers of government without entering into stipulations with him on behalf of the company ; besides, that the leaving of an event of that importance to the country undetermined, would, probably, have created much mischief and confusion with respect to the collections, and every other object of state, and no member of the board proposed to wait till lord Clive's arrival.

But to return to Nundcomer, he was confined immediately upon his arrival at Calcutta, and was not permitted to leave his house without permission from the governor. A most glaring injustice, as the board had no right whatsoever to send for him to Calcutta, nor was he obliged to answer the charges they had brought against him for misconduct in his office as minister to the nabob. Had the accusation been proved or not, the board had no power to compel Nundcomer to submit to their jurisdiction, though he might not perhaps have disputed it. It was not till some months after his arrival at Calcutta that he was examined by the board.

The opinion of the court of directors upon the conduct of the company's servants, in the course of the war against Collim Ally Kawn, did not coincide with the demand that had been made of the Gassipore country, and the intention of conquering

Sujah

Sujah Dowlah's dominions for the king. They required them to adopt some system, which might clearly mark out the barriers of the country government, and the company's territories; and ordering the strictest enquiry to be made, whether any contribution had been exacted by the servants from the nabob Nudjumul Dowlah on his accession to the subahship.

It seems that the annual amount of the nabob of Bengal's revenues, after payment of the sum stipulated by treaty, was about two millions sterling.

In the course of the examination before the committee appointed by the house of commons, mention was made of presents, to the servants of the company, and having pursued their inquiries thereupon, they gave the house a summary and comprehensive view of the whole they had hitherto discovered upon an object so important, and thought proper to add the following schedule.

Account of such sums as have been proved or acknowledged before the select committee appointed by the house of commons, to have been distributed by the princes and other natives of Bengal, from the year 1757 to the year 1766, both inclusive; distinguishing the principal times of the said distributions, and specifying the sums received by each person respectively.

Revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier in 1757.

Mr. Drake, (governor.)

£. 31,500

Colo-

Colonel Clive as second in the select committee

Ditto, as commander in chief

Ditto, as a private donation - £. 234,000

Roy Dulip, who had the principal management in the distribution of the treasury of the murdered nabob Serajah Dowlah, received upon the accession of Jaffier Ally Kawn as a present from colonel Clive, one lack, 25,000 rupees, being five per cent on 25 lack

Mr. Watts, as a member of the committee, 240,000 rupees

Ditto as a private donation - £. 800,000

Major Kilpatrick - - - - 27,000

Ditto as a private donation - - - - 33,750

Mr. Maningham - - - - 27,000

Mr. Becher - - - - 27,000

Six members of council, one lack each 65,200

Mr. Walsh - - - - 56,250

Mr. Scrafton - - - - 22,500

Mr. Lushington - - - - 5,625

Captain Grant - - - - 11,250

Stipulation to the navy and army - £. 600,000

£. 1,161,075

Lord Clive's jaghire was likewise carried at this period.

Revolution in favour of Clive, 1760.

Mr. Sumner - - - - 28,000

Mr. Holwell - - - - 30,000

Mr. McGuire - - - - 30,000

Carried over 23,750

| | | |
|---|-----------------|------------|
| | Brought forward | 79,562 |
| Mr. Smith | - | 15,354 |
| Major York | - | 15,354 |
| General Callad | - | 12,916 |
| Mr. Vansittart, 1762, received five lacks | - | 58,333 |
| Mr. Mc. Guire 5000 gold mohurs | - | 8,750 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | £. 200,262 |
| | | <hr/> |

Revolution in favour of Jaffier, 1763.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|------------|
| Stipulation to the army | - | - | 291,666 |
| Ditto to the navy | - | - | 145,833 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | £. 437,499 |
| | | | <hr/> |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|-----------|
| Major Munro in 1764, received from Bulwansing | - | - | 10,000 |
| It appears colonel Munro accepted from the king a jaghire of which he delivered to the nabob Meer Jaffier as mentioned before | - | - | 12,500 |
| Ditto from the nabob | - | - | 3,000 |
| The officers belonging to major Mun- ro's family from ditto | - | - | 3,000. |
| The army received from the mer- chants at Banaras | - | - | 46,666 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | £. 62,666 |
| | | | <hr/> |

Nujum

[32]

Nujum al Dowlah's accession, 1765.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| Mr. Spencer | £ 23,333 |
| Messrs. Playdell; Burdett and Gray, | |
| one lack each | 35,000 |
| Mr. Johnstone | 27,650 |
| Mr. Leicester | 13,125 |
| Mr. Senior | 20,125 |
| Mr. Middleton | 14,291 |
| Mr. Gideon Johnstone | 5,833 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £ 139,357 |

| | |
|---|--------|
| General Carnac received from Bulwantsing, in 1765 | 9,333 |
| Ditto from the king | 23,333 |
| Lord Clive received from the begum in 1766. | 58,333 |

Restitution, Jaffier 1757.

| | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| East India company | 1,200,000 |
| Europeans | 600,000 |
| Natives | 250,000 |
| Armenians | 100,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £ 2,150,000 |

Cossim, 1765.

| | |
|--------------------|-----------|
| East India company | £. 62,500 |
|--------------------|-----------|

Jaffier, 1763.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|-----------|
| East India company | - | - | 375,000 |
| Europeans, natives, &c. | - | - | 600,000 |
| | | | £ 975,000 |

Peace with Sujah Dowlah.

| | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|-----------|
| East India company | - | - | £ 583,333 |
| | | | |

| | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|-----------|
| Total of presents | - | - | 2,169,665 |
| Restitution, &c | - | - | 3,770,833 |
| | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|-------------|
| Total amount, exclusive of lord Clive's jaghire. | - | - | £ 5,940,498 |
| | | | |

That rupees are valued according to the rate of exchange of the company's bills at different periods

The committee next stated to the house their inquiries into the transactions of the company's servants, relative to the affairs in Bengal, from the date of lord Clive's government in the year 1764, and they found that on the second of May of that year, lord Clive then in England, was sworn in president and governor of Bengal, and commander in chief of the forces there, and that Messieurs Sumner and Sykes, then also in England, were appointed counsellors at that presidency, the former to succeed to that government. And the commit-

tee further found, that Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, general Carnac, Mr. Verelst and Mr. Sykes, were appointed a select committee, by a letter of the court of directors, dated the first of June 1764. Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, and Mr. Sykes sailed from England for India the 4th of June 1764, and arrived at Madras the second of April 1765; and the committee being informed that Lord Clive, in consequence of the intelligence he received at Madras, of the situation of the company's affairs in Bengal, had wrote from thence two letters of material consequence; which did not stand upon the company's records, the one to Mr. Rous, the other to Mr. Walsh, and partly in cypher; they proceeded to inquire into this transaction, and for that purpose they examined Peter Michel, Esq, who being asked if he knew of any letter written in cypher from Lord Clive to Mr. Walsh in 1765. He said, he had such a letter; that it was dated the 17th of April, and was delivered to him by Mr. James, the late secretary, as an official paper. That the original letter appeared to have been put into Mr. James's hands by Mr. Rous, about the 29th of March 1766, part of it being in cypher, in order to be decyphered, the key of the cypher being in possession of Mr. James, whom a day or two afterwards delivered it to the witness, that he might decypher it; which being done, he returned it, together with the decyphered copy to Mr. James, by whose direction he afterwards made another copy of it, which he also delivered to Mr. James, upon his quitting the office, it again came into the possession of the witness being asked whether any of the directors, except the members of the secret

com-

committee, at that time knew of any thing of that letter ? he said, he believed not , and that h^a did not know what become of the original letter and two letters were produced, that to Mr. Rous, containing various intelligence and opinions of lord Clive, respecting the affairs of Bengal , that to Mr. Walsh, containing directions to his lordship's attorneys, to make purchases in India stock and the following is an exact copy of part of the said letters,

Madras, April 17, 1765.

To Thomas Rous, Esq,

Dear Sir,

" We arrived at this place the 10th instant, and shall proceed to Bengal next Saturday. The prince of Wales kept us company the greatest part of the way to Ceylon, and is, by this time, I hope, at her destined port, all well I must enter with you into the politics of India. The particulars of our late success and now very flourishing condition of the company's affairs in Indostan, you well have been informed at large, before this reaches you I shall therefore only trouble you with my sentiments, in consequence of these successes, and trust to your co operating with me in carrying into execution, and in establishing upon the most solid basis, such parts of my plan, as appear capable of answering, that we have both so disinterestedly at heart, the company's honour and prosperity.

We have at last arrived at that critical period which I have long foreseen ; I mean, that period which renders it necessary for us to determine, whether we can, or shall take the whole to ourselves, Jaffier Ally Kawn is dead, and his natural son is a minor ; but I know not whether he is yet declared successor. Sujah Dowlah is beat from his dominions ; we are in possession of it, and it is scarcely hyperbole, to say, to-morrow, the whole Mogul-empire is in our power. The inhabitants of the country, we know, by long experience, have no attachment to any obligation ; their forces are neither disciplined, commanded, nor paid, as ours are. Can it then be doubted, that a large army of Europeans will effectually preserve us sovereigns, not only holding in awe the attempts of any country prince, but by rendering us so truly formidable, that no French, Dutch, or other enemy will presume to molest us.. You will, I am sure imagine with me, that after the length, we have run, the princes of Indostan must conclude our views to be boundless ; they have seen such instances of our ambition, that they cannot suppose us capable of moderation., The very nabobs whom we might support, would be either covetous of our possessions, or jealous of our powers. Ambition, fear, avarice, would be daily watching to destroy us ; a victory would be but a temporary relief to us, for the dethroning of the first nabob, would be followed by the setting up of another ; who, from the same principles, would when his treasure admitted of his keeping up an army, pursue the very path of his predecessor. We must, indeed, become nabobs ourselves in fact, if not in name, perhaps totally

totally so without disguise , but, on this subject I cannot be certain until my arrival in Bengal. Let us, and without delay, complete our three European regiments to 1000 men each, such an army, together with 500 light cavalry, three or four companies of artillery, and the forces of the country will certainly render us invincible. In short, if riches and security are the objects of the company, this is the method, the only method, now for securing them Our troops, you will hear, are at this time above half way to Dehli, a march I highly disapprove of, I mean absolutely to bound our possessions and conquests to Bengal Never shall the going to Dehli be a plan adopted by me, if possible to be avoided, and you may depend upon my putting a stop to it, nor should I even have thought of going such lengths, if others had not rendered it necessary I could have wished that our operations had been carried on upon a plan of more moderation, and that we had not been obliged to maintain any other military force, than what might be sufficient to preserve and pursue our commercial advantages , but, since our views are extended, and since commerce alone is not the whole of the company's support, we must go forward, to retract is impossible One word more; increase our army to the establishment above mentioned 20,000 small arms, with gun powder sufficient, and remember that the light cavalry are most necessary. The establishment for Madras is sufficient, no addition is wanted there , but Bengal requires your attention, &c."

To avoid repetition, we shall omit the last part of the letter relative to the civil department

(Copy)

(Copy:)

" Dear Walsh. Madras, April 17; 1765.

Memorandum : those parts in cypher are distinguished thus : " I have desired Mr. Rous to furnish you with a copy of my letter to him, of this day's date ; likewise with the cypher, that you may be enabled to understand what follows. " What- " ever money I have in the public funds, or any " where else, and as much can be borrowed in " my name, I desire may be without loss of a mi- " nute invested in East India stock. You will " speak to my attorneys on this point ; let them " know I am anxious to have my money so dis- " posed of, and press them to press the affair as " much as possible, &c."

Mr. Dudley, who was deputy chairman of the East India company at the time lord Clive's letter to Mr. Walsh arrived in England, informed the committee, appointed by the house of commons, that only Messieurs Rous, Boulton, and himself were present when it was read, and the court of directors were not acquainted with the contents of it, as the three gentlemen mentioned did not communicate the intelligence, that lord Clive had given orders to lay out all his money in the India stock, to the proprietors, not the court of directors. The purport of the letter to Mr. Walsh was never laid before the whole secret committee of the East-India company ; the letter to Mr. Rous was read to the court of directors, except the last paragraph, which mentioned that there was a letter to

Mr.

Mr Walsh indeed, they had no power to suppress any part of a letter on the public service.

Lord Clive being examined by the committee, was asked whether it was his intention that his letter to Mr Rous, in cypher of the 17th of April 1765, should be kept a secret, he said, he meant that Mr Walsh should not divulge the contents of his, because it was of a political nature. The reasons why he reposed such a confidence in this agent are very obvious, as Mr Walsh was not in any public situation whatever, respecting the East India company, but his lordship's trusty friend, to whom he communicated all his domestic concern. Lord Clive said, that Mr. Walsh had formerly been a servant of the company's abroad for many years, and from the revolution of Plassey, till a considerable time afterwards, was his secretary, and was intrusted with all the political transactions during the time that his lordship had the command of the army, and likewise part of the time of his government in Bengal.

In order to vilify Mr Vansittart's administration, lord Clive declared, that he was informed of the company's servants carrying on the trade in salt at first duty free, and afterwards, on paying two and a half per cent was all contrary to the company's orders, that he was sure, when Mr Vansittart had established by agreement with Cossim, the duty of nine per cent. the majority of the council denied Mr Vansittart's authority, and insisted upon their right to trade duty free, by virtue of the royal firman, at the same time, that they insisted that Cossim Ally Kawn should not suffer his own subjects to trade duty free. He mentioned

the

the complaints of the inhabitants that the company's servants, and the agents acting under them, had engrossed and monopolised the whole trade of the country, and his lordship being requested to specify any particular complaint, declined it. Indeed, lord Clive, whose government was defamed by the most notorious, and the most oppressive, monopolies, should have been silent upon Mr. Vansittart's conduct in this respect. He arraigned the conduct of the same gentleman in regard to the treaty which he made at Mongheer, agreeing to pay nine per cent. and commended the council for having refused to conform to it, because it was improper in his lordship's opinion, and they ought to have paid a great deal more, neither did his lordship think Mr. Vansittart was authorised to conclude a treaty without laying it before the council, and that general Carnac, Mr. Vercler, and Mr. Cartier, gave it as their opinion, that the company's servants had a right to trade duty-free by the royal firman, and, with respect to the duty of nine per cent. the noble lord declared, he had no right to conclude such a treaty with the nabob, and that he considered the inhabitants of Bengal as subjects to the nabob, because the mogul's power was annihilated. His lordship denied having formed a resolution at Madras to seize the dewanee, dismissed part of the company's servants, and to call some of the senior servants from the other settlements to fill up their places, upon his arrival at Bengal.

Mr. Walsh informed the committee, that he was one of lord Clive's attorneys, when he was abroad, and being asked what quantity of India stock he

purchased for lord Clive, in consequence of the letter in cypher from Madras to him, April 17, 1765. He said, that lord Clive's attorneys did not buy for him above 12,000l. principal stock, in the interval between the time that he received his lordship's letter, and the arrival of the packet, which brought public advices from lord Clive, then at Bengal, relative to our being in possession of the dewanee; that it was sold out, and disposed of to complete a purchase of land that lord Clive had made. That a great part of lord Clive's said stock was bought at 165l., that after the arrival of the packet, some stock was bought for lord Clive at 175l., and some at 179l. and that India stock remained at 190l. three or four months afterwards: and being asked the amount of the other purchases made for lord Clive? he said, That after the arrival of the public advices, there was bought on the 21st of April 13,000l. at 175l. and 5000l. at 179l. on the 9th of May, being the whole that was bought for lord Clive when he was abroad: and he added, that lord Clive's letter to him, was delivered to him by lady Clive, at the same time that Mr. Rous received his letter, they being both at her ladyship's house. That Mr. Rous and the witness went to the India-house together, to have their letters decyphered: that, as it was Sunday, neither the chairman nor deputy-chairman were there, without whose orders the letters could not be decyphered: that he therefore left his letter with Mr. Rous till he could obtain that permission, and went the next day to the India-house and received from the Chairman, the contents of his letter decyphered; being asked if he could enumerate any of those persons who

who made purchases of East India stock, in consequence of the good opinion he had declared concerning it, as mentioned in the former part of his evidence, he said he could not. That from the nomination of lord Clive to go abroad, the witness entertained hopes that great advantage would ensue to the company, and was in consequence a large stock holder on himself, that, he therefore probably spoke of the advantageous situation of the company, before the receipt of lord Clive's letter; that he judged afterwards by the direction from lord Clive to purchase stock for him, that it was a beneficial thing, and being asked how many attorneys lord Clive had at that time, he said five, to all of whom an extract of such part of the above-mentioned letter, as related to the purchase of the East India stock was communicated.

The committee found that lord Clive, Messieurs Sumner and Sykes, arrived at Calcutta on the 3d of May 1765, and took their seats at the council on the 5th. That on the 7th they assembled as members of the select committee, assuming the whole power of the settlement, civil and military, and that they administered to themselves and their secretaries, an oath of secrecy; that they acquainted general Carnac and Mr. Verelst, the other members of the committee, named by the court of directors with those determinations, and acquired the immediate attendance of Mr. Verelst, then chief at Chittigong; general Carnac being at that time at the head of the army in the province of Oude. That lord Clive opened the committee, by a letter containing the full declaration of his lordship's own intentions, venturing to assert that anarchy, confu-

sion, an almost general corruption has disgraced Mr. Vanstart's government, and that the critical situation of the company; which was on the contrary most flourishing, as his lordship himself had acknowledged in his letter to Mr. Rous, rendered it absolutely indispensable, for the speedy settling of their affairs, that the power should be vested in the hands of a few. As the select committee was at his lordship's command, it was natural for the noble president to wish the exclusion of part of the council, in regard to the measures he was resolved to pursue.

The first resolves of the committee were, to re-call free merchants residing up the country, with an order to the chiefs of the several subordinate factories to convey in safety to Calcutta, all who should refuse to comply with this measure, with an injunction to transmit accurate lists of all Europeans not immediately in the company's service, who resided in or about their respective districts.

His excellency the nabob having, immediately on his arrival at Calcutta, and previous to any enquiries into his situation, delivered a letter to the noble president, addressed to his lordship and the gentlemen of the secret committee. A translation of the above letter was read: according to the facts advanced in this letter, the committee were of opinion, that Mahomed Reza Khan, since the death of the late nabob, had distributed among certain persons near twenty lacs of rupies. This *extraordinary* committee declared, that it was incumbent upon them to discover to whom such sums had been paid, and for what consideration, in order that the most effectual measures be pursued.

sued to remedy for the present, and to prevent for the future, any dangerous consequences which may have arisen, or which may arise, not only to the country government, but likewise to the company, from such practices. These pretended reformers proved afterwards, more corrupt and more rapacious; than any of their predecessors.

The substance of the letter from his excellency the nabob Najim O Dowlah to the noble president and the committee was, that his father had designed him his successor, and that Messieurs Johnstone and Leycester came to Cossimbazar a few days after Jaffier's decease, as députés from the board at Calcutta, to direct the young nabob's councils, and injoin him to send for Mahomed Reza Kawn from Dacca, and set him as naib of the nizamut. This troubled him much, as they told him also, he must not sit in the déwan connah, and must live in the same place where he was putting a stop to all public business, till the arrival of Mahomed Reza Kawn, whom he suspected to have had long ago evil intentions on the nizamut; that his father deemed him always as his enemy; and besides, there was a large sum due from him to the sircar. Mr. Johnstone declared to the young nabob, that unless he immediately signed an instrument, which he offered to him, he should have no great chance of being in possession of the subahdary. The young nabob complained of having been compelled to sign it. After this, Mahomed Reza Kawn arrived, and sat as naib. For the better securing his post, he distributed above twenty lacs of rupees among such people as he thought proper, and this without

out the young nabob's knowledge That the said Mahomed Reza Kawn made Mr Johnstone his protector, and Mr Leycester his vakeel He kept the nabob's seal under his own seal, and nothing was to be done without his will or order. He distributed titles, employments, kelcuts, elephants, and jewels, to others at pleasure The young nabob complained, that he was much distressed for money, for paying his servants wages and other current expences He concluded, by reflecting on Mr. Johnstone's bad treatment after his father's death, and on Mahomed Reza Kawn abusing of the power vested in him, by the station to which he had been raised.

The circumstances of the gentlemen of council, application for presents from the nabob, were as follow, according to Mahomed Reza Kawn's narrative after his excellency had been seated on the musnud, several members of the council said to him, the gentlemen who have assisted Firman Nazing, have obtained presents, now that we have seated his excellency on the musnud, and rendered him service, we hope he will make presents to us Do you represent this to his excellency ? I answered, "Do you remember yourselves mention it At length, as they were earnest with me, and I perceived they would be offended at my refusal, I represented it to his excellency in conformity to their desire his excellency said to me, "It must be done, do you make out a list, and bring it me " I replied, "Your excellency is the master, yourself determine upon whatever may be your pleasure" Accordingly an account of the presents for the gentlemen was made out, before the nabob's

bob's face, and given under his hand and seal to Mr. Johnstone, in the presence of all the four gentlemen ; after three or four days, Mr. Johnstone carried this paper to the nabob, and said, "If your excellency has given this paper unwillingly, and contrary to your inclination, we do not want it." His excellency answered, "I have given it to you of my own pleasure and inclination." After this conversation had passed, Mr. Johnstone said, "What shall we do with a bare paper?" let orders be given to Mahomed Reza Kawn for the payment of the money. His excellency, accordingly commanded me to pay the money agreeable to the paper : I made some day's delay, and upon Mr. Johnstone and the other gentlemen making again a demand upon me, I presented the following petition to his excellency, "with regard to giving the money for the gentleman's present, whatsoever is your excellency's pleasure." His excellency signed thereon ; "Let Mahomed Reza Kawn pay it." Accordingly 875,000 rupees were given to nine gentlemen, 250,000 by four bills upon the house of Seats, the date of the payment thereof will appear from their books, and the remaining 625,000 in ready money from the treasury.

6th of June, 1765.

A true translation.

George Vansittart, Persian translator.

When the gentlemen demanded an acknowledgement from Mahomed Reza Kawn, he asked, "Is not

not this to be a general affit, and are not the other gentlemen to have a share, &c" To this they replied, "No, this must be for us. let them look to themselves.

Account of presents from the nabob.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Mr. Spencer received | rupees | 100,000 |
| Mr. Playdelt | - - - - - | 50,000 |
| Mr. Burdett | - - - - - | 50,000 |
| Mr. Gray | - - - - - | 50,000 |
| Mr. Johnstone | - - - - - | 237,000 |
| Mr. Middleton | - - - - - | 112,500 |
| Mr. Senior | - - - - - | 112,500 |
| Mr. Leycester | - - - - - | 112,500 |
| Mr. Johnstone's younger brother | - | 50,000 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | Total | 875,000 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Remained due | | 350,000 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | Total | 1,225,000 |
| | | <hr/> |

George Vansittart, Persian translator,

With regard to the presents which Mahomed Reza Kawn made to the gentlemen of council, the state of the case is this. Mr. Johnstone sent him a message by Mootgram, as follows "Whereas you have been appointed his excellency's naib, it is proper that you make us some presents for yourself" He represented his situation, that he would do what was in his power, but that he could not

not furnish any great matter. In the end the sum of 475,000 rupees was agreed upon, of which he paid 225,000 and 250,000 remained due, according to the under-written particulars.

Account of the presents from Mahomed Reza Kawn.

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Mr. Johnstone received | rupees 100,000 |
| Mr. Leycester | 50,000 |
| Mr. Senior | 50,000 |
| Mr. Johnstone's younger brother | 25,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total for Mr. Johnstone and Co. | 225,000 |
| Mr. Spencer received at different times | 90,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | 315,000 |
| Due | 250,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | 565,000 |
| | <hr/> |

A true translation.

George Van Sittart, Persian translator.

The sum total received by the above-mentioned gentlemen from the nabob, Mahomed Reza Kawn, and Juggut Seit, was 1,240,000 rupees.

Remained unpaid 675,000

According to Juggut Seit's narrative, when Mr. Johnstone, and the other gentlemen of council, went to Murshadabad, and applied themselves to the regulation of the whole subahdary,

they sent him the following message by Moorgram. " Make us some acknowledgment, and we will settle all our business accordingly, according to your heart's desire, otherwise we shall be displeased, and your business meet with no assistance; for you formerly made an acknowledgment to lord Clive and other gentlemen ; being remiss, he consented to give 125,000 rupees, 50,000 immediately, and the rest when he could collect his debts from the country.

The committee of the house of commons thinking the proceedings of the select committee of Bengal of great importance for the house to know distinctly, divided their inquiries respecting those proceedings into the following heads.

- 1st. The measures they took respecting the execution of covenants.

- 2d. Recalling the European agents.

3d. Their examination into the nabob's complaints. ---

4th. The establishment of the treaty, purporting to be a treaty of peace with Sujah Dowlah, and the acquisition of the Dewannee.

5th. Establishment and progress of the salt society, and other matters relative to that trade.

They found that the committee of Bengal had resolved to enforce immediately the execution of the new covenants against receiving presents, by the servants of the company from the Indian powers, in virtue of a letter from the directors ; the committee did not discover from the records, that this matter had been brought under the consideration of the council-board ; nor had any notice been given to the other servants of the company, that they were

were required to execute such covenants. In regard to the transactions of recalling European merchants, it appeared, that the select committee resolved to recall all free-merchants residing up the country, within one month after notice, and that orders were sent to the chiefs of subordinate factories to convey in safety to Calcutta all who refused to comply.

The oppressions and enormous abuses committed in consequence of this order, have sufficiently exposed those who have enforced the execution of such arbitrary mandates against law and equity.

In regard to sums distributed among certain persons by Mahomed Reza Kawn, since the death of the late nabob, said to amount to near twenty lacs of rupees, it was proved, that Mr Johnstone, had actually received the several sums of money and bills, specified for his use, in the general accounts of Mahomed Reza Kawn, and Juggut Seit. He appeared from the evidences entered in the proceedings of the committee appointed by the house of commons, to have been a principal agent and manager, in obtaining and distributing the presents; but unacquainted, they would willingly suppose, with the menaces used by Mooteram in his name to Mahomed Reza Kawn and Juggut Seat, in order to extort a sum of money from the latter, for the use of the deputation, and lastly, that he had been guilty of actual disobedience to the company's orders, in arraigning indecently, and refusing positively to acknowledge, the authority wherewith the select committee were invested, by the honourable the court of directors, and by urging their usurped

ped powers in excuse for declining any reply to charges that so deeply affect his character.

That Mr. Senior had received all the money specified for his use in the evidence already mentioned, and also, the further sum of 50,000 rupees from Mahammed Reza Kawn on his own account, but that he neither authorized the messages delivered by Mooteram, nor was active in obtaining or distributing the presents. That Mr. Middleton had received presents from the nabob and Juggut Seat only, firmly believing them to be voluntary ; and that he always intended to refuse the presents designed him by Mahomed Reza Kawn.

That Mr. Leycester had received the several sums affixed to his name, in the above-mentioned accounts, but that he neither did, nor intended to receive the bill, lodged with Mooteram for his use, nor was any ways concerned in the menaces thrown out by that person to Mahomed Reza Kawn and Juggut Seat.

That Messieurs Playdell, Burdett and Gray, received each 50,000 rupees from the nabob, in the full persuasion that the same was a free gift to the gentlemen who then composed the board, without any application on their parts, or consideration on the nabob's for services performed.

That Mr. Cartier was utterly a stranger to any demands made in his name, and that he would absolutely have refused a lack of rupees intended for him by the nabob, had it been ever tendered to him.

That upon the whole, the gentlemen who sat at the board, as well as those who negotiated at the durbar, were guilty of actual disobedience to the com-

company's positive orders relative to the covenants, both in delaying to execute them, and in receiving presents contrary to the express letter and spirit of these obligations.

It appeared to the committee, from a narrative of Mahomed Reza Kawn, transmitted to lord Clive, who was then at Mootejil, that he had related facts with great candour and precision, confirming in the strongest manner, the several particulars set forth in his former evidence. That he had positively asserted, and with the greatest appearance of truth, that neither the presents from the nabob, nor from himself, were voluntary, but granted after some altercation and tedious negotiations with the gentlemen of the deputation. That Mr. Johnstone at first desired a very large sum, but after a great deal of debate, and many conferences, Mooteram consented to accept 6,25,000 rupees from the nabob, and 475,000 rupees from Mahomed Reza Kawn ; of which sum the whole was paid by the nabob, and 225,000 by Mahomed Reza Kawn, in money and bills ; that over and above 137,500 rupees, which Mr. Johnstone obtained from the nabob, as a joint member and senior servant on the deputation ; the same gentleman stipulated, that 100,000 rupees for himself, and 50,000 rupees for his brother, should be paid secretly from all the other gentlemen ; that besides the above sums clandestinely obtained from the nabob, Mr. Johnstone as principal agent and manager, thought proper, without the consent or knowledge of his colleagues, likewise to appropriate 50,000 rupees to himself, and 25,000 to his brother, out of the money granted

Maho-

Mahomed Reza Kawn, over and above his allowed proportion as member of the deputation.

Mr. Sykes being called before the committee of the house of commons, and being asked what part of the political conduct of the governor and council of Bengal he meant to find fault ; said, he concurred with general Carnac in disapproving the appointment of Mahomed Reza Kawn with such extensive powers ; and added, that he blamed the gentlemen who settled the treaty with Nujum al Dowlah, for omitting the opportunity they then had of constituting a fund adequate to the expences the company were obliged to be at in protecting the country. That the revenues were left too much at the mercy of individuals, and he thought the natural effect of these arrangements would be to put the nabob in such a situation, as to enable him to with-hold the necessary payment to the army, which whenever he did pay it was with reluctance. That he disapproved of making the concurrence and approbation of the governor and council necessary to the appointment and dismissal of the nabob's officers, and objected to the appointment of Nujum al Dowlah to the musnud, in preference to Myr Jaffier's grandson, particularly as the grandson had been declared the legal heir, and Chuta nabob, in the public durbar, by Myr Jaffier in the presence of the witness, in the year 1760, soon after the death of the nabob Meer Jaffier's son Meeram ; that there were four or five hundred officers of the government present at the ceremony, and that he received a dress on the occasion.

With respect to the money that had been taken, the following paragraph in the nabob's letter proved

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the fact to be true. "After Mahomed Reza Kawn had sat as naib, he, for the better establishing himself in the naibship, distributed above twenty lacs of rupees among such people as he thought proper, without my knowledge."

To enable the house to form further judgment upon the evidence given to the select committee of Bengal, Mr. Gregory, who had been conversant in the customs of India, being asked, from the natural disposition of the natives of Bengal, what credit could be given to the evidence of an officer in the country government, when seized and surrounded by military guards? he said, he could give but very little credit to an evidence so given; that he apprehended a native of that country, examined under apprehensions of his own safety, would give the evidence that would tend most to his own advantage. And he farther informed the committee of the house of commons, that if there is any thing criminal likely to come out against the man, and a place of refuge near at hand, he supposed there was necessity in India of using a force to detain him, otherwise not. That in point of custom of the country government, they generally used violence, and brought witnesses to the place where they wanted to examine them; but that it had not been customary in the company's settlements.

And in regard to oaths among Gentoos, the witness, said he believed, under the form of oath delivered to the Gentoos, their testimony is to be depended upon as well as others, though there have been instances in which they have been found guilty of perjury; and that he did not know any instance

instance of Gentoos having quitted their habitations upon their being called on as evidences; and unless their lives or effects were in danger, or their cash taken from them, he did not apprehend they would. Major Grant, who had been resident in India nearly seven years, being examined to the same point, confirmed the opinion of the foregoing witness, relative to the same degree of credit to be given to natives of Bengal examined under a guard. And being asked, whether he would disregard the evidence of the natives of that country, though given under the forms of oaths, which are reckoned most binding, according to the different sects? he said, that under the circumstances already mentioned of confinement, and the dread of consequences, he should not pay that regard to their evidence that he otherwise should, unless there were other concurring testimonies to enforce it. And being asked, what regard has generally been given to the evidence of natives of all sects, when called upon at a court-martial to give evidence in cases of life and death? he said, he had never seen any instance of that kind before a court-martial, but imagined the court would pay every deference to an evidence where it appeared there was no influence or interest in view; that he had never sat on a court-martial, though he had occasionally attended the court in Calcutta, but never the trial out; was never present at any instance of a witness being examined under a military guard. The committee found, by the proceedings on the trial of Ram Charn, which were read, that the most solemn manner of swearing the witnesses, according

according to the Gentoo religion is with Tootsy and the Ganges water upon the cow's back, and oath being administered by a bramin from Galicott.

General Carnac being questioned to the same point, said, it was customary, with respect to the natives of India, to place the guards, or peons, over persons who were to be examined; that there was no ministers of public justice, but armed men; and he thought it necessary to place a guard over Mooteram, because he was under accusation; that in regard to oaths of Gentoos, he believed from their superstitious zeal, and their strong attachment even to martyrdom to their ancient rights, they are held very sacred.

Mooteram was examined under a guard, by direction of lord Clive, on an information, he said, he had received of his having the bills and money transactions mentioned above, in his particular care, and that he was seized to prevent his escape.

The select committee taking into consideration many attempts which had been made to destroy the unanimity, and corrupt the integrity of the company's servants, both separately and jointly by the nabob, through the influence of Nundcomer, and other ill-disposed persons, who were admitted into his presence, resolved, that all the intercourse with the nabob, his ministers, and the country powers, be maintained and conducted by the right honourable the president, who had made a specious profession of his disinterestedness, though his plan, previously concerted with his committee,

proved afterwards a complete system of monopoly and rapaciousness Mr Sykes, whose probity and disinterestedness are equally conspicuous, being called before the committee appointed by the house of commons, and desired to state in what manner the nabob, through the influence of Nundcomer, had endeavoured to corrupt his integrity, and that of his colleagues, said, that when he was sitting at the board, soon after his arrival, he was called out by a servant to speak to Nundcomer, who was in a room contiguous to the apartment where the committee sat, that he of himself, proposed to the witness, to secure to the governor and select committee 25 lacs of rupees, if they were inclined to listen to his terms, without mentioning what those terms were, but the witness said, he conjectured the conditions he meant, were to supplant Mahomed Reza Kawn, the then prime minister That he told Nundcomer he had better go and mind his business, and immediately left him, to attend his duty in the committee that no body was present at this conversation, (consequently that's nothing more than an *ipse dixit*, as there were no witnesses of this extraordinary instance of the deponent's uncommon contempt for money) than on his return to the committee, he mentioned Nundcomer's proposal to lord Clive, who said he was a rascal, and had better go about his business That he never after, directly or indirectly, knew any thing more about the matter That Nundcomer's political character was very bad, but he had no doubt if he had been made prime minister, he could have had

had it in his power to have fulfilled the proposal.

With respect to the conclusion of the war with Sujah Dowlah, the select committee found that Sujah Dowlah, as his last resource, had thrown himself on the generosity of the English, and was at that time actually in camp, ready to receive such terms of peace as they should prescribe; which appearing to the committee a favourable opportunity for establishing the tranquility of the country on a permanent foundation, they resolved that instructions should be sent to general Carnac, for settling the preliminary articles with Sujah Dowlah; which they sent accordingly. And the select committee taking into consideration the youth, inexperience and incapacity of Nujum al Dowlah; the nabob of Bengal; the necessity of placing the administration in the hands of men, capable to support the weight of government, and attached to the company's interest, and likewise the great danger that might arise to the stability of the then establishment from suffering the whole powers for the absolute management of the three provinces to vest in a single person, resolved that Mahmud Reza Kawn be advised to relinquish the title of naib Subah, and also a part of the unbounded authority wherewith he was invested by the late treaty, as a measure not only agreeable to the nabob, but necessary to the safety of the present government, and the future tranquility of the country.

It appeared that the plan formed with a view of giving stability to the nabob's government, by dividing equally the administration between three ministers, was in danger of being subverted through the

the ambition of Roy Dullub, and the excessive moderation or timidity of Mahomed Reza Kawn, and Juggut Seat.

The three ministers signed the new regulations made by lord Clive and his committee, for the provinces Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and his lordship had received the sunnuds for the reversion of his jaghire, in perpetuity to the company, conformable to the terms of his agreement before he left England : at the same time, sunnuds for confirming the nabob Nudjul ul Dowlah, subah of the three provinces, were obtained from the king, who granted also sunnuds for the yielding to the company in perpetuity, lands about Calcutta, and likewise for the Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong countries. The president of Fort St. George desired at the same time, his lordship, to obtain sunnuds for the four northern provinces or sircars, which his lordship deeming a matter of great importance, made at the same time a point, that as the nabob intended purchasing the king's favours at the price of five lacks of rupees, that all the sunnuds required on the company's account, should be afforded gratis.

The nabob, on his lordship's representation of the great expence of such an army as would be necessary to support him in his government, to defray the large sum due for restitution, and to the navy, together with the annual tribute which was of necessity to be paid to the king, consented that all the revenues of the country should be appropriated to those purposes, 50 lacks of rupees a year for himself excepted, out of which sums all his expences, of every denomination, including cavalry and

and seapoys, were to be defrayed. Mr. Sykes resident at the durbar, was to settle this new arrangement.

The nabob having agreed to accept this annual stipend, made over the management of the subahdary, with every advantage arising from it to the company, out of the above stipend he was to allow 276,000 rupees a year, to the different branches of his family. These payments were to be made by the three ministers monthly; who were also to have the payment of all the nabob's troops, servants, &c.

Lord Clive and general Carnac had a conference with Sujah Dowlah, in which they offered him the terms for a treaty of peace. The negotiations between them and the king at Illahabad had the desired effect; and the terms were then settled between them on the grant of the dewannee to the company. Sajah Dowlah having expressed the greatest reluctance at consenting to the 8th article of the treaty, and having frankly confessed, that the encroachments of the English in Bengal, with regard to trade, and the great abuses and exactions committed by the company's servants, and others countenanced by them, made him apprehensive of the consequences in his dominions, and had expressed so much uneasiness about the word 'factories,' that they agreed at last to leave it out of the treaty; and suggested even the propriety of withdrawing the factory at Banaras, 'as soon as the company's engagements with Bulwantsing' should expire.'

Lord Clive having resumed his seat at the select committee, laid before them a pompous account of his several negotiations with the country powers.

during his absence from the presidency, viz. -the treaty of peace with Sujah Dowlah; the royal grant of the officer of the dewanee of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; the grant of his lordship's jaghire to the company in perpetuity, on the expiration of his lordship's terms therein; the confirmation in perpetuity of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and of the twenty-four pargunas of Calcutta, which had been formerly assigned to the company by the nabob Meer Jaffier; the confirmation of the company's possessions in the neighbourhood of Madras, &c. the grant of the northern sircars in perpetuity; also the articles of agreement with the king, for the due payment of the twenty-six lacks of rupees per annum to his majesty, and the agreement with the nabob for the annual stipend, as above stated, to be paid his excellency for the support of the nizamur.

By the treaty between his highness the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, vizier of the empire, his excellency Nudjim al Dowlah, nabob of Bengal, and the English company, they engaged to assist each other mutually, in case the dominions of the contracting parties should at any time hereafter be attacked with a part, or the whole, of their forces.

His highness Sujah Dowlah solemnly engaged never to entertain or receive Cossim Ally Kawn, the late subzhdar of Bengal, Sommoro, the assassin of the English, nor any of the European deserters within his dominions, nor to give the least countenance, support, or protection to them; and to deliver up to the English whatever Europeans may in future desert from them into his country.

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The King Shah Allum was to remain in full possession of Korah, and such part of the province of Illahabad as he then possessed, which were ceded to his majesty as a royal demesne, for the support of his dignity and his expences.

His highness Sujah al Dowlah agreed to pay to the English company, in consideration of the great expence incurred in carrying on the late war, fifteen lacs of rupees, the whole sum to be discharged thirteen months from the date of the treaty.

Bulwantsing was to be continued in the zemindaries of Banaras, Ghazapore, and all the districts he possessed at the time he came over to the nabob Jaffier Ally Kawn and the English, on condition of paying the same revenue as heretofore.

His highness the nabob of Oude had the country of Binaras restored to him, the fort of Chunar excepted, which was not to be evacuated untill the sixth article of the treaty was fully complied with.

His highness allowed the English company to carry on a trade duty free throughout all his dominions.

The English forces were to be withdrawn from the dominions of his highness, except such as might be necessary for the garrison of Chunar, or, for the defence or protection of the king in the city of Illahabad, if his majesty should require a force for that purpose, and the said contracting powers generally and reciprocally guaranteed to each other all the stipulations of this treaty.

The king Shah Allum in his firmaun, by which the company obtained the grant of the dewanee of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, acknowledges the attachment and services of the high and mighty, the noblest

noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, his faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of his royal favours, the English company. His majesty grants them the devanee of the said provinces as a free gift, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the dewanee, which used to be paid to the court, on condition, that the said company should be security for the sum of 26 lacks of rupees a year for his royal revenue, which sum had been appointed from the nabob Nudjum ul Dowlah Bahadar, to be remitted regularly to the royal sircar.

In his majesty's firmaun for the confirmation of lord Clive's jagheer, the following Eastern titles are given by the mogul to his lordship : the high and mighty Zubdul ul Moolk, Nusseer ul Dowlab, lord Clive Bahadre ; his majesty confirmed in the province of Bengal (the paradise of the earth) his lordship's jagheer, for the term of ten years, to begin from the 16th of May, 1764, at the expiration of which it was to revert as a perpetual gift to the company.

His majesty was also graciously pleased to confirm the company's possessions in the Carnatic, granted them by former kings in the neighbourhood of Madras, as well as the sircar of Seccacool, from which the French company had been dispossessed. And according to the agreement between the nabob Nudjum ul Dowlah and the company, his excellency was to receive the annual sum of secca rupees, 5,386,131, for all his household expences, servants, &c. and for the maintenance

of such horse, seapoys, peons, huccundasses, &c &c as may be thought necessary, for his seawry, and the support of his dignity only By a statement of the charges which were allowed for the collections of the Bahar province in 1765, they amounted to rupees of forty, 2,153,934 -2 10 By the statement of the revenues to be received from the Bahar province, from the year 1765 to September 1766, they amounted to rupees, 5 566,250 -7 5. This was the balance to be received this year

Had his lordship by his boasted reformation, pursued effectual measures to stop the effusion of human blood, not only during his presidency, but for the time to come, and laid the foundation of future tranquility to those unhappy provinces, which had long been the scene of desolation, to ease a company from the insupportable weight of ruinous wars, which have ever since his impolitical regulations, raged in the peninsula of Indus, we should be glad to have an opportunity to congratulate his lordship on his protection and sagacity, for having compassed this prosperous end, but the company have found by experience, that the extraordinary acquisition of revenue and influence, which he flattered himself to have obtained for his constituents, far from having conciliated the affections of the country powers and secured their repose and happiness, have been productive of new troubles and calamities. He took no measures whatsoever, likely to insure a lasting peace and all the commercial advantages, which the company had a right to expect from their valuable acquisitions. In the company's letter to Bengal dated the 29th February 1766, they observed, "that no suc-

cess in carrying on the war against Sujah Dowlah, to give his country to the king, could justify the measure. That as Sujah Dowlah had offered to withdraw his protection from Cossim Ally, to enter in friendship with them, and to join his army in pursuing him; that opportunity ought to have been embraced for putting an end to the war. That all sight of the company's interest was from that moment lost, and that error had plunged them into many more." They animadverted upon the reply made to the offer of Sujah Dowlah, when they demanded he should put Cossim and his general to death; for if the law of hospitality forbade his delivering them up, surely it forbade his murdering them.

The dispossessing Sujah Dowlah of his country, was breaking down, as they apprehended, the strongest barrier they could have against the Afghans, Moratta's, and all the invaders of the empire, who were checked from penetrating into the Eastern provinces, by a power so respectable as his was throughout Indostan. The raising the king on his ruins, rendered this still more striking; because all the northern powers were his natural enemies, being attached to the vizier Garodin Kawn, and though the title to the crown was contested, all parties seemed to unite in opposing the claim of him. They acknowledged kings, and it was to be feared they would come down upon him, before his strength was confirmed; and thus they might have drawn the wars, that have so long distracted the northern countries to their own frontiers.

The king could not possibly have maintained himself without the utmost assistance of the com-

pany, and Sujah Dowlah was not so reduced as not to make head again, and the result might have been, to have a war to maintain six hundred miles from Calcutta, from the success of which no possible advantage could have been derived, and one defect might have caused the total loss of the province.

In the engagements with the king, the stipulation for the charges of the war was unsettled, and the whole expence was left on the Bengal government.

The appointing of independent dewans, was intruding on the powers of the regent, weakening his government, and tending to anarchy. Nor was any Englishman master enough of the forms of government, to undertake dividing their departments without introducing confusion. Instead of forming an equitable plan for carrying on the inland trade, in concert with the nabob, according to the positive orders of the directors, which were to put a final and effectual end to the inland trade in salt, beetle nut and tobacco, and in all other articles produced and consumed in the country, until some new method should be adopted, their servants were guilty of a breach and violation of their orders, as a determined resolution to sacrifice the interest of the company and the peace of the country, to lucrative and selfish views.

The directors therefore pronounced, that every servant concerned in that trade, stood guilty of a breach of his covenants with them, and of their positive orders; and in consequence of this resolution they positively directed, that if that treaty was still subsisting, they should make a solemn renunciation, by a solemn act to be entered upon their records,

zards, of all right under the said treaty, or otherwise to trade in salt, leetle nut and tobacco, and that they should transmit the renunciation of that part of the treaty in form, to the nabob in the Persian language. Whatever government may be established, or whatever unforeseen circumstances may arise said they, it is our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely forbid this inland trade, and all articles that are not for export and import, according to the spirit of the firman, which does not in the least give any latitude whatsoever for carrying on such an inland trade, and moreover they deemed every European concerned therein directly, or indirectly, guilty of a breach of his covenants and directed that he be forthwith sent to England, and every native who shougl avail him self of the company's protection to carry on this trade, without paying all the duties due to the government, equally with the rest of the nabob's subjects, was to forfeit that protection, and be banished the settlement.

This trade had been the source of the war, and was incompatible with the peace of the country and the interest of the company.

Lord Clive, general Carnac and Mr Sykes held the Purnea, according to the custom of the country, and to these ideas which they pretended to entertain of the company's honour and interest. His excellency the nabob sat in quality of Nazim, and Lord Clive took his place as collector of the revenues for his majesty. They thought it by no means advisable to deviate upon slight occasions, from the established forms and customs of the annuitary, and therefore accepted for themselves and for the other members of the council, the usual presents

sents of a dress and elephant to each of them. This expense had formerly been charged to the government and was now brought to the company's account, but as the amount was inconsiderable, they would not introduce any innovation that might tend to lessen their dignity in the eyes of the people. The zemindars and other public officers consented to pay to the amount of 5 200,000, as first fruits of the ensuing collections. The collection for the province of Bengal was this year 140 lacs. Mr Campbell attended the noble president at Mootejil as mint-master, to explain and conduct a scheme proposed by the select committee, for establishing a gold currency.

The directors, in the course of the war against Cossim Ally Kawn, condemned the demand which had been made of the Gissipore country, and the intention of conquering Sujah Dowlah's country for the king, requiring them to adopt some system which might clearly mark out the barriers of the country government and theirs, and ordering the strictest enquiry to be made, whether any contributions had been exacted by the servants from the nabob Nudjum al Dowlah, on his succession to the subhship.

The select committee appointed by the house of commons having requested lord Clive to say, whether in his opinion, the grant of the dewanee was really a grant from a prince, who from his situation at that time, might be supposed capable of bestowing such concessions, or, whether it was an instrument executed as a piece of form, which his lordship thought it expedient to take from political motives he referred to the public records of the

company, wherein the actual situation of the Mogul was described. He said, the Mogul had at that time, some thousands of men in arms ; and in regard to lands and revenues to pay them, he believed he was in possession of Illahabad, and that Sujah Dowlah and many princes of the country, made him large presents. And being asked, if the Mogul was at that time wholly dependent on the bounty of the English for protection, and even subsistence ; he said, he did not know that the English afforded him any subsistence at that time, nor till the articles of peace were settled with Sujah Dowlah, when the treaty was made, that he should have particular possessions, and a certain annual stipend ; that he certainly expected assistance from the English ; but that if he had been disposed to ask for assistance from other powers, all Indostan was open to him, and particularly the Morattos : that the Mogul was not in the power of the English army at the time he granted the dewapnee, but was his own master to do as he pleased, though his power in Bengal was totally annihilated. And being asked, who put the Mogul in possession of Illahabad ? he said, the company did ; and he did not know of his having any other possessions at that time, and could not say whether, as the time was so short, he had collected any of the revenues of the place, or made any arrangement of government, from the time he was put in possession of it, to the time of granting the dewanee. And being asked, if the mogul could have refused the grant of the dewanee, provided the English had insisted upon it, without risking his own view ? he said, it was certainly his interest to

to grant it to the company, who might have taken it without his consent; whether they would have done so, his lordship could not say: that there was still so much respect for the great Mogul, that the independant nabobs applied to him for their confirmation, which confirmation is generally attended with considerable presents from the princes so confirmed, who gave them to the person they apply to as Mogul: that at the time of granting the dewanee, the Mogul was at Illahabad; that his son was then reigning at Dehli, but always acknowledged that he acted under his father; but his lordship could not say, whether the father acknowledged the son to be his delegate: and being asked, if he could particularize any nabob who made presents on application, for confirmation to the Mogul at Illahabad? he said, Nujum ul Dowlah did.

General Carnac being asked, if the Mogul, when he granted the dewanee, was in such a situation as to induce him to suppose it was a voluntary grant, and that he was in possession of such authority as could enable him to do it? said, that Shah Allum was really, to all intents and purposes, the great Mogul, as much as any of his predecessors, in proof of which he enjoyed the two great honours annexed to their dignity, equally with his predecessors, viz. the coorba, or prayer for him as king, was universally read, and money coined in his name throughout the whole empire. That since the invasion of Nadir, the distant provinces had been very deficient in the payment of the royal revenues; but that, to his certain knowledge, the complimentary nazars,

or presents, were sent to Shah Allum by the neighbouring provinces; and as he believed the province of Dchli paid a yearly allowance to his son, who resided there as his delegate: that there is no doubt, but the English might have forced the grant of the dewanee from the Mogul, if they thought it prudent or just so to do; but that such a proceeding would have excited a general odium against the English throughout all Indostan, and that no such force was imposed on him: that he gave it voluntarily, and had offered it to the witness before: that his interest was concerned in the grant, for there was secured to him a much more considerable annuity than would probably have been paid him by any nabob; that the mogul had been in the hands of Sujah Dowlah, who made use of the royal name to collect the revenues from the adjacent provinces; but that, upon the defeat of Sujah Dowlah, he again surrendered himself to the English, and was by them invested with the provinces of Korah and Illhabad in full sovereignty: that at the time of granting the dewanee, his mere dependance was upon the English; that a part of the company's troops were attending him at Illahabad, and that he never was without some of them while general Carnac remained in the country; for the mogul was jealous of Sujah Dowlah, and would have been very uneasy without them.

It is manifest to all the world, that the mogul was so circumstanced, that it was not in his power to refuse the grant of the dewanee to the company; and general Carnac's evidence corroborates this opinion. The first poonah for Bengal,

gal; since the company became possessed of the dewannee, was held the 29th of April, 1766; and the company approved, that the forms established by lord Clive at the solemnity of the poonah, should in future be observed; and when the governor is not present, the resident at the durbar represents the king's divan. Orders had been issued from the court of directors, to enquire particularly into the circumstances of the death of Nujum ul Dowlah, a report prevailing, that he had been poisoned. The committee appointed by the house of commons, desired Mr. Sykes to relate what he knew upon that subject. He informed the committee, that to the best of his remembrance, when lord Clive, général Carnac, and several other gentlemen, were on their way to Patna, in 1765, his lordship proceeded from Muxidabad to a garden, called Seradbaugh: that the nabob being desirous of waiting on his lordship at the garden, the witness accompanied him thither, where he staid till ten or eleven o'clock at night: that Mahomed Reza Kawn was also present, and that his excellency complained then very much of being indisposed, and Mr. Sykes advised him to return to the city, and not expose his person to the cold; he having, as it appeared to him, then an ague fit upon him; and that he went to his own house accordingly. Mr. Sykes hearing the next day, upon inquiry, that he was worse, went to see him, and found that he was confined to his bed in a high fever: that he continued growing worse three or four days, in which time the witness made him two or three visits; that his excellency, the third or fourth day of his

illness, sent word he should be glad to see him; that he went accordingly, and on his arrival found him delirious, and convulsed; that he remained very near him till he died, which was about two hours after his arrival, that he heard some rumours from the presidency at Calcutta, that he had not fair play, and that he was brought to an untimely end; in consequence of which, he applied to the deceased nabob's mother, to hear if she entertained any idea of that nature; that she assured him she did not, and that if there had been any suspicion in the nabob's mind, he would certainly have mentioned it; that Mr. Verelst mentioned in a private letter, that there was such a rumour in Calcutta, and that it was levelled at lord Clive, and the gentlemen in administration, by their enemies. Mr. Sykes said, he believed the nabob drank some ice water, which, as he was ill before, was improper for his situation; and that he does not recollect there was any entertainment but what the nabob brought with him for his own family; that an irregular way of living, a gross habit of body, and fondness of women, hastened his death; that he had the venereal disease to a severe degree; and that, when he visited him in his illness, he imputed his approaching death both to the fever and the venereal disease; that he had been ill three or four days when he visited lord Clive at Serabbaughi, and had a fever on him at that time; that he took the ice water himself. And being asked, if any individual was benefited by his death? he said, he believed not; but the East-India company did, as they took this opportunity of reducing the allowance.

ance that was made for the military establishment of the former nabob, by reducing it from fifty-five lacs of rupees a year, to rupees 41, 81, 131.

General Carnac said, that as he was going up the country, he went through Muxadabad, where the nabob was very ill; that he waited on his excellency, and found him in so violent a putrid fever, that he used every argument to prevent his going to take leave of lord Clive, who was then a few miles beyond the city at Seradbaugh; that, to his great surprise, the nabob came thither, and, in a few days after, heard of his death; at which, knowing the dangerous situation in which he left him, and being of a gross habit of body, he was no ways surprised; and that he was a very intemperate young man. And being asked, if he knew any instance of a nabob, or any other person of the country, being put to death by the English, except in battle? he said, he did not; and concluded, by affirming the nabob had intimated to him his complaint was, a putrid fever, called in Indostan the ave fever, which is attended with an itching at the nose, and reputed incurable.

The court of directors having received intelligence of the enormous abuses committed by the company's servants in the inland trade, in a general letter to their president and council in Bengal, shewed their disapprobation of such unfair proceedings in the following words:

" Your deliberations on the inland trade have laid open to us, a scene of most cruel oppression, which is indeed exhibited at one view in the nabob's complaints. The poor of this country, who

used

used always to deal in salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, are now deprived of their daily bread by the trade of the Europeans, whereby no kind of advantage accrues to the company, and the government revenues are greatly injured We shall for the present, observe to you, that every one of our servants concerned in this trade has been guilty of a breach of his covenants, and a disobedience to our orders Amongst the various extortionate practices, we find the most extraordinary one of forcing the natives to buy goods beyond the market price, which have been frequently practised If the goods of any of our servants have been put off to the weavers, in part of payment of the company's investment, they have been guilty of a flagrant breach of trust

It appeared, that the support of the privileges usurped by the company's servants, to the manifest detriment of the nabob, have engaged the company in unnecessary wars; that many valuable lives were lost in the defence of them The privileges here meant principally relate to the un warranted inland trade, in which the company's servants were generally concerned, greatly to the prejudice of their employers, by involving their affairs in distress and difficulties, and manifestly injurious to the country government Thus the private interest of individuals has been preferred to the general good By the new regulations of the 17th of October, 1764, the article of salt was a trade confined to the capital cities of Patna, Dacca, and Murshadabad, on paying the nabob two and a half per cent did by no means obviate the objections arising from the distress of the poor, and

and, the injury to his revenues ; for if they paid only two and a half per cent. and the country people twenty, or perhaps forty per cent. it was as much a monopoly as ever.

Sujah Dowlah, having experienced the ascendancy of the English arms, tried to recover by policy, what he had lost by pusillanimity, and want of discipline in his army. It seems general Carnac sought for his friendship, and persuaded lord Clive that he might become a faithful ally, provided his lordship did not urge him to despair. Mr. Carnac was of opinion, that from the regard the nabob vizier was held in throughout the country, even in his present distress, 'would prove a much better security to our frontier,' than any one we could put in these dominions in his room. Hearing that Sujah Dowlah was drawing near, he sent captain Swinton with Rajah Shilabroy to meet him. He arrived on the evening, May 20th, 1765, on the opposite side of the river, and immediately crossed it with his brother-in-law Solar Jung, and a very few followers, in order to wait upon the English-general.

Mr. Carnac received him with all possible marks of distinction, at which the nabob expressed much satisfaction. He seemed however, a good deal dejected at his present condition, which bore very hard upon him. He must have found himself without resource, or he would not have submitted to such a condescension, being the most considerable man in the empire, and of an uncommonly high spirit. It was a good policy in the company's servants, to behave with generosity towards a person, who had all along bore a high reputation in Indostan.

Previous to this meeting, general Carnac had received from Sujah Dowlah the following letter, dated May 19th, 1765.

" It is known all over the world, that the illustrious chiefs of the English nation are constant and unchangeable in their friendship, which my heart is fully persuaded of. The late disturbances, were contrary to my inclinations ; but it was so ordered by Providence. I now see things in a proper light, and have a strong desire to come to you , and I am persuaded you will treat me in a manner befitting your own honour. You have shewn great favours to others ; when you become acquainted with me, you will see with your own eyes, and be thoroughly sensible of my attachment, from which I will never depart while I have life. I am this day, the 26th of the moon arrived at Bilgram,"

With his own hand.

My Friend,

" I regard not wealth, nor government of country ; your favour and friendship is all I desire. Please God, I will be with you very soon, when you will do for me what you think best."

General Carnac, answer the 24th of May 1765, I have been favoured with your letter, declaring your intentions of coming to me, &c.

" The receipt of this letter gave me great pleasure ; you was before unacquainted with our customs, and dispositions ; thanks be to God, that you are now become sensible of the justice and upright intentions of the English. Now that you are pleased to come to me in a friendly manner, you may

may depend on the best reception in my power, suitable to our customs ; and I will not be deficient in forwarding whatever is reasonable for your interest ; and when your excellency shall shew a real attachment to the English, their friendship towards you in return will be manifest to the whole world : you may with perfect confidence come here, as to your own house, and to these that wish your welfare, &c."

Indeed every appearance of insult and violence to a person of Sujah Dowlah's character was to be carefully avoided, in the terms they were to demand. Lord Clive who did set out for the army, settled the preliminary articles, and adjusted a plan of pacification with the vizier. His lordship's end was effectually answered by a personal interview with Sujah Dowlah, as it did lead him to a direct knowledge of his real sentiments in the course of their conferences. His lordship flattered himself to have stipulated such conditions with Sujah Dowlah, to have formed such connections with the country powers, and pursued such means, as were thought necessary to the company's interest, and the obtaining a safe and lasting peace ; but the events shewn since, that the influence he designed to maintain by force of arms, was destructive of that commercial spirit, which it was his lordship's duty to promote ; was ruinous to the company, and oppressive to the country. He should have exerted his utmost endeavours to conciliate the adherents of the country powers, to remove the jealousy they had naturally conceived of our ambition, and convince them that we aimed not at conquest and dominion.

nition, but security in carrying on a free trade; equally beneficial to the company and the natives.

The French and English companies having agreed to settle amicably all differences. Mr. Law, the French commissary, arrived on the coast of Coromandel, and having received the restitutions there to be made to his nation, he proceeded to Bengal, and on the 15th of June was put in possession of Chandernagore by Mr. George Vansittart, appointed on this occasion the commissary for his Britannic majesty: He appointed deputies for receiving the subordinate settlements at Sydabad; Dacca, Jugdea, and Balasore, and the two first places were accordingly restored. With respect to the Balasore factory, some objections occurred upon its not being in the condition required by the terms of the treaty, which prevented its being made over immediately: Mr. Law, however, gave his orders for its being received in its present state, leaving those circumstances to be adjusted between the two companies. Upon further accounts, from the respective commissaries, he did further set forth the title of the French company to two spots of ground at Singhia and Chupnah, near Patna, which in the like manner restored upon his appointment of a person to receive them. Copies of the acts of restitution of Chandernagore were sent to the directors of the English company.

Mr. Law made to the president and council of Calcutta, a representation, touching the inconveniences and difficulties the French company and their agents would be exposed to from our direct adherence to the terms of the treaty, which strict

strict them from erecting fortifications, or entertaining any troops in these provinces, accompanied by the copy of an answer on the subject, the original whereof he had before communicated to Lord Clive, which the minister, for the India affairs had, on his departure from France received from the secretary of state; he therefore expressed his hope, that the English company would be induced to allow the French a small number of armed Europeans and sepoys, with a few pieces of cannon; and a proper lodgment to which they might retire in case of any surprise from the country people, assuring us particularly, that he meant not to elude in the least by this application, the effect of the conditions of the treaty.

The president and council of Calcutta having properly considered the same, agreed with a reserve to the company, of the right of withdrawing the terms whenever they might have reason to apprehend an improper use of them, to permit one officer and twenty European infantry, with one hundred sepoys to be entertained at Chandernagore, and fifty of the latter at each of the subordinates; also to allow them a wall at Chandernagore, such as they formerly had at Cossimbazar, and twenty pieces of cannon, not of a heavier weight than six pounders, for the purpose of salutes on the usual occasions; which would at the same time fully answer the end of imposing a proper respect on the country people; they further agreed, to allow the French five artillery men for working these guns; and having communicated their determination to Mr. Law, they received his thanks in the name of the nation for the same; and a further assurance that no

improper use would be made of ary indulgence
the English company might grant them.

He made also an application, for a supply of
nine thousand maunds of salt-petre, on the same
terms as the Dutch, to assist in compleating their
cargoes from hence and their other settlements;
and having found by advices from Patna, that
the English company's investment that season
would enable them without any inconvenience to
comply therewith, they agreed to spare the French
accordingly the quantity required; remarking,
however, to Mr. Law, at the same time, that no
right to any part of this branch of commerce was
from hence to be established, though they should
with equal readiness assist the French company,
when it could be done with the same conse-

lions, in case of a vacancy ; and being at this time desirous of having the third, it was agreed to appoint him thereto accordingly.

Sir Robert Fletcher became in consequence, lieut-tenant-colonel of the first battalion ; and it was also agreed to promote major Peach to the second, till the point of priority in rank between him and major Champion was determined by the answer of the directors to the applications made to them, respecting that gentleman and Sir Robert Fletcher. Proceeding then to the third appointment of lieutenant colonel, lord Clive further informed the board, that on his arrival at the cape, he found there, on his passage to Europe, major Charles Chapman, of his majesty's seventy-ninth regiment, and that Messrs. Sumner and Sykes with colonel's Smith and Barker represented to him, that as the number of field officers was not complete, according to the establishment, and opportunity offered in their opinion, of doing the company great service, by introducing that gentleman as one, having on account of his particular merit been solicited by the president and council to remain at Fort St. George, in the command of their troops under general Lawrence, which although he had declined, he was willing to come to Bengal with his lordship, provided he had rank next to major Peach. That he joined in sentiment with those gentlemen, and brought the major here accordingly, under such a promise ; and his lordship therefore proposed he should have this appointment, not doubting in the least the directors confirmation

Some debate passed at the board on this occasion, upon which his lordship informed them, that in virtue of the power vested in him, the council should certainly grant the commission in question, but would wish to have their concurrence, and desired the sentiments of the several members might be collected, and major Chapman was appointed the third lieutenant-colonel.

Majors Champion and Stibbert, and captain Hugh Grant were afterwards appointed the majors of the three battalions; and in consideration of the long and faithful services of captain Christian Fisher, and as the former objection to promoting him was now removed by the appointment of so many officers of superior rank, a major's brevet was also granted to him.

Before colonel Smith proceeded to join the army, the council received a representation from him, touching his appointments at the presidency of Calcutta; setting forth, that he was positively assured he was to succeed to all the same, both civil and military, which general Carnac held then in the service; and expressing therefore his surprise at finding himself on his arrival, precluded from the former, in consequence of the instructions of the directors, which expressly say, "That after the death and departure of the general, no officer shall have a constant seat at the board without the leave of the directors, but only when military affairs are under consideration; the council offered it as their opinion, that the commanding officers of the troops, should upon all occasions have a seat at the board.

Lord

Lord Clive entered a representation and complaint against Mr. Burdett, for having in his office of zamindar confined and detained, after application for his release, an overseer of boats, employed by his lordship on the occasion of an intended expedition up the country, to take upon him the command of the army, and settle affairs with the powers in these parts : Mr. Burdett not being present at this consultation ; an order was immediately issued to him for the man's enlargement : and his answer to the same having been received, assigning the reasons for his proceedings, which did not appear sufficient, and conceived in terms deemed disrespectful to the board, they determined that he should make a proper acknowledgment both to lord Clive and themselves. Mr. Burdett complied afterwards with the determination ; and his lordship having desired to be acquainted therewith, it was accordingly communicated to him ; but Mr. Burdett entered a minute on the style of his letter, and this being likewise transmitted to his lordship, he confirmed the opinion he had before given of that gentleman's conduct, in terms which determined Mr. Burdett, having before intimated his intention of returning this season into Europe, to sit no longer at the board ; and he also resigned the company's service accordingly.

Lord Clive delivered since a minute, setting forth, " That he could not accuse himself of having given any cause for the resentment expressed by Mr. Burdett, and his opinion concerning his representation ; referring to a letter from Rajah Doolibram to Mr. Sumner, when president, in respect to a note of hand for a sum of money, which he

he represented he had given to Mr. Burdett, upon the nabob's accession to the government, under the promise of his endeavours to procure him a share in the administration, which he had not fulfilled, and therefore soliciting Mr. Sumner's assistance for the recovery thereof.

The select committee ordered Mr. Sykes to proceed to Murshadabad on affairs of importance, and to set out accordingly without loss of time. Messrs. Leycester and Gray dissented upon the occasion, not being able to judge of the object of Mr. Sykes's commission, or the necessity of his appointment; and as Mr. Middleton, a member of the board, was already stationed resident at the durbar, to transact whatever points of business might occur with the country government had acted in that capacity to the entire satisfaction of the council, and could not be superseded without a restriction on his ability to conduct such business. The proceedings were afterwards laid before the board, when those gentlemen confirmed their dissent, esteeming Mr. Middleton still the proper person to transact the business intrusted to Mr. Sykes; and upon Mr. Middleton receiving information from the select committee of this appointment, he addressed the board, setting forth, how much it must lessen the weight and influence which it was absolutely necessary he should maintain in his station, and that he could not, with any credit to himself, remain in it longer; more especially as Lord Clive told him, on his way, that it was intended to remove him shortly, and place Mr. Sykes in his room; and soliciting, in consequence, the chief-ship of Patna, which became vacant

warrant a few days before, by the sudden death of Mr. Billers ; to this he was accordingly appointed, and ordered to proceed immediately, delivering over to the chief at Cossimbuzar such business as he had been intrusted with from the board. Mr. Sumner being the only member of the committee then present, minuted at the same time, a declaration on their part, that no reflection whatsoever on Mr. Middleton, nor derogation from his necessary weight and influence as public resident, was intended by them, setting forth the impropriety of charging any other than a member of the committee with the management of business, which had not been disclosed to the council, as an argument for his satisfaction. Mr. Sykes having proceeded conformably to his deputation, returned to the presidency with lord Clive; and Mr. Verelst having been called to Calcutta to take his seat in the committee, resigned the chiefship of Chittagong-factory, in which Mr. Playdell succeeded him; and, upon the resignation of Mr. Johnstone, he was appointed by the committee to the charge of supervisor of the Burdwan revenues. Messrs. Charlton and French were, in consequence of the majority of the board, ordered from Decca to take their seats in the council, and Mr. Sumner dissented thereto, in his own and the name of the committee a revial of the measure.

Lord Clive, during his absence at Binaras, wrote a letter to the committee, representing his opinion of the company's title to a moiety of the money obtained there by the army, in consequence of the deed of gift from the king to the company,

of such proportion of all plunder, &c, which should be taken in India by his forces on land, and their orders, putting their own military on the same footing, and reserving to them the other moiety. He, at the same time pointed out, as an argument, the stipulation in favour of the company, of one half of what should be taken at Manella, esteem-ing it a similar case with the one in question.

It having appeared, on reference to the registers of council before his lordship's arrival, that the board considered the said money as a voluntary gift from the merchants, rather than a ransom for the town obtained by military force; and that, for the reasons assigned, they thought proper to consent to the army's receiving it, without reserving any claim to the company; the other members did not think, this being the case, that a demand on them for a share of the money could now with any propriety be made.

Lord Clive, amongst his military regulations, proposed for the better regulating the pay of the army in future, and the prevention of any abuses, that there should be separate pay-masters, with deputies, and a commissary, to each brigade; and the board having agreed with him in the propriety of these appointments, the pay-masters were accordingly nominated.

Commodore Tinker having received from the late nabob, Meer Jaffier, a grant of 1,250,000 rupees, as a donation to himself and the squadron under his command, for their services in the war, against Mr. Cossim, he presented to the board, on his departure, a translation of the same, and requested their assistance in procuring regular pay-
ments

ments conformably to the terms; to which the board replied, expressing their satisfaction at the nabob's having thought proper to consider the services of the squadron, and assuring Mr. Tucker, that so far as it might appear to them in his power consistently with the performance of the engagement of this treaty, the commodore might depend on their compliance with his application. Mr. Tucker, and other officers agents, having addressed the board for payment, and inclosed the translation of a letter from the present nabob, with a confirmation of his father's grant, solicited their interposition for procuring them the amount due; representing, with a view of adding weight to their application, that many officers and men of the squadron having contracted debts during their abode in Calcutta, their drafts on the donation had, upon the strength of the board's promise, been accepted in discharge thereof, by merchants of the place, whose private fortune had already suffered, and must still suffer more by any farther delay of payment.

The representation having been considered and debated on, the majority of the board were of opinion; that in consequence of our acquisition of the dewannees of those provinces, and the agreement thereupon made with the nabob, by which, after the stipulations for the king and his excellency, the remaining part of the revenues devolves to the company, they could not of themselves determine upon the subject, but referred it to the decision of the directors.

Mr. Leycester, agreeably to his intimation at the last meeting of the board, delivered in the

following minute on the style of the nabob's letter to the select committee, entered on their proceedings then perused.

" The nabob's address to the select committee is a most extraordinary production, whether the matter or style of it is taken into consideration. It is an appeal to these gentlemen against the conduct of a committee of the board, from whom, I suppose, he would have had redress, had he been able to support a complaint of this nature; but so far from that, I believe, he has repeatedly expressed his content and satisfaction in many letters to the governor. Whether I consider myself as a member of this board, or as a gentleman, I can by no means allow myself to be treated with such unbecoming language; nor will the board themselves, I presume, deem it decent to, have termed the vacquel of Mahomed Reza Kawn, while I have been acting by commission from the board; and I call you, gentlemen, to do me justice, and must request, before I even attempt a refutation of the nabob's assertions, that you shall insist on apologies being made for the insult offered this board through me; your silence on such an occasion must be interpreted into an approbation."

(Signed) Ralph Leycester.

The board were in consequence unanimously of opinion, that a letter should be wrote to the nabob by the president, expressing, in the strongest terms, the impropriety of his using such a style in any representation he might have occasion to make, touching the conduct of the members of the board,

board, which the president informed them he should do accordingly.

And Mr. Lezester thereupon entered the following further minutes in vindication of his conduct, on the subjects of the nabob's complaints.

" The honourable motives on which I acted at Muxadibid, leave not a wish to conceal any part of my transactions. I have, however, one objection to entering on my defence, I think it merits consideration, how far it appears decent and proper to allow the conduct of a committee, and of course the representatives of the whole board, to be thus arraigned for transactions which have not at the time been complained of. As my commission terminated a month and a half before the authority of that board expired, which made my appointment, I think an appeal should only have been made to these gentlemen, for the conformity of my conduct to views which the present board cannot be such ample judges of, and that the nabob and I may not go on in endless contradiction of each other, I beg the matter may be put on some certain issue, and that if the nabob's assertions appear false, the board will determine what measures to pursue, in order to prevent in future such unwarrantable attacks, which every gentleman must otherwise be for ever exposed to, who shall be prosecuting any views that may be injurious to a first minister or favourite of the nabob. I was aware, that if ever Nundcorner was able to influence the nabob, he would urge every thing which malice and villainy could invent, out of enmity to me for the share I had in his removal.

I am sorry to see the nabob begin his government with a proceeding, that must create so much uneasiness and jealousy between him and some members of the council, and which must in a manner destroy all confidence and cordiality between them; but, as the particular displeasure expressed against me by the nabob, has solely been incurred by a steady pursuit of the company's welfare, it shall not give me much pain; for I am sensible their interest would have been sacrificed, had we attended to each idle and evasive argument, with which Nundcomer took care from time to time to supply him; but, to reply more particularly to the nabob's charge.

Letters of condolance had been wrote from the governor on his father's death; and the first half hour of our first interview, was employed in compliments of one kind or other. We then acquainted the nabob, we had some private business with him, and requested he would order his attendants to retire; and that his brother being young, might do the same, which he complied with without reluctance. Mahomed Reza Kawn had already been ordered down from Decca by the board; but it might appear as much as possible the nabob's own act, he was also desired to send a like order. He, or rather Nundcomer, were guilty of a shameful imposition on our resident at the durbar, on whose application the nabob told him, orders to that effect should be sent, but transmuted instructions directly contrary. This was an apparent breach of confidence. Mahomed Reza Kawn had however set out, and the nabob was prevailed on by us to send his pervannah for that purpose.

When

When he had subscribed to the treaty, he was asked whom he chose to be seated on the misnud, when Mahomed Reza Kawn should arrive? he was willing, I believe, to defer his installation, in daily hopes of receiving sunnuds from the King, from which authority he rather wished to hold his government. The morning before we went to the Kellah, we acquainted the nabob, that as we had particular business to transact with him, it would be adviseable that he should receive us in a private apartment, and not in the dewan connah, and that no mistake should happen in this message, it was committed to writing, nor did I ever see the nabob, except the day he was seated on the misnud, in any other apartment than that on which he first received us. It is absolutely false, that he was told not to sit in his dewan connah, till Mahomed Reza Kawn's arrival that he must live in the place he was, or, that he must put a stop to all business. Mahomed Reza Kawn I think, arrived the third day after our first visit.

We found that people about the nabob had endeavoured to inspire him with a suspicion of our designing to seat Reza Cawn on the misnud, but when we pointed out to him the improbability of such intent, and how needless our present declarations in his favour were, had we any such view, he seemed reassured, and called on us to pledge our honour to the performance of the treaty, which he read over two or three times. He evaded coming to any point, wanted to consult Nundcomar and to have him bring the paper of advice of his deceased father. We knew this was only to gain time, and that a delay would only increase every

every difficulty we had to contend with. We replied, we came not to treat with Nundcomar, but with him, that the council and the English were heartily inclined to his interest ; and that he should only consider them as his friends and protectors ; probably he was told, it was his best part to act conformably to the council's sentiments, fully expressed in the treaty. After discussing over every article of the treaty, three or four times, and taking pains to make him understand it, we pressed his acceptance and seemingly satisfied his principal objection ; still he desired to have Nundcomar's opinion ; but when we saw he had been tutored to do nothing without his concurrence, and that he was sure to encourage the nabob to the warmest opposition ; we pointed out to him, the necessity of his complying with the resolutions of the board, and that we could not acknowledge him as subah, till he had promised his assent : this was not, I believe, told him in the terms he had used, though it was my firm opinion, and I believe it was the board's, that he ought never to be acknowledged on any terms, that should still leave the sole power in the hands of Nundcomar, whose character was then, at least, a very doubtful one. He spoke at that time, very handsomely of Mahammed Reza Kawn, and only mentioned, what he said about the Decca collections ; he at last promised his compliance, and Nundcomar and others were called in, and upon their beginning to start objections, they were told ; we were not come to receive their opinion, but to negotiate with the nabob. It was proposed, that the treaty with his father should be sent for ; when it was first called for, we were told a Faguir had

the treaty, who was sitting upon Meer Jaffier's tomb, some miles from the Kellah ; but upon finding such evasions would not avail, it was presently produced.

He then accused Mahommed Reza Kawn, to have taken twenty lacks out of his treasury, and distributed it without his knowledge, for securing his nailship. This is most shameful insinuation, and as it appears indirectly levelled at those who supported this measure, I must take notice of it, though the chief object is to injure Mahommed Reza Kawn. The opinion I entertain of his understanding and integrity, inclines me to believe this a groundless assertion ; if he has done so, I will allow I have mistaken his character, and am ready to declare on oath, I have never received a single rupee from Mahommed Reza Kawn. The other reflections thrown out on Mahommed Reza Kawn, he will, I hope, be able to clear up to the board's satisfaction ; and if we consider, the struggle the nabob has made, to have that villain Nundcomer still about him, no man will be surprised at the attack on Mahommed Reza Kawn, or those who promoted him ; and when all circumstances are considered, I can only be amazed to find such a seeming degree of credit given to the nabob's assertions, which I think must appear to every unprejudiced person, the performance of Nundcomer, who has such an influence over the nabob, as to make him believe all those enemies to himself, who have been concerned in his removal : - though four gentlemen were appointed on the deputation, and concurred in every measure, Mr. Johnston and I only are named ; Mr. Johnston we are told was

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supposed to be previously at enmity with Nundcomer ; and I am particularly attacked, by reason I suppose, of my repeated refusal of large offers made me by Nundcomer, for support. I am fully persuaded, that he is the sole author of this address from the nabob ; and am, I confess, very much provoked, to think, that villain shall entertain a momentary hope of gratifying his resentment, by urging the nabob to this attack ; for from himself, I am positive it could not have proceeded. All the difficulties, and all the uneasiness we had in executing our commission at the city, proceeded from Nundcomer and his creatures, as we repeatedly informed the board. The nabob of himself made but weak objections, and such seemed removed by the arguments we used, till he was again tutored by Nundcomer, when he would flatly contradict himself.

He complained to the board very bitterly of our proceedings about Nundcomer, when we were ordered to send him down, and alledged that we obliged him to sign such a paper as we thought proper. This was Nundcomer's last struggle, at least, it would have been the last, had not he and the nabob been taught to expect an entire change upon the arrival of Lord Clive and the committee. As the nabob had confidence enough to exclaim against us to the board in such terms, Why failed him to add what he now urges ? The paper, he says, was forced from him, regarded only Nundcomer. I am firmly persuaded, that the same influence, which has on several occasions led the nabob into the most palpable contradictions, has now urged him to these shameful insinuations, in hopes

hopes of assisting Nundcomer by this attack; on those who promoted his removal No confidence can be placed in his word and promise, so long as Nundcomer or his creatures have access to him; and I am satisfied, if they were removed, he would soon reflect on the impropriety of his present conduct, and repent of it.

I admit the nabob was at first much averse to the appointments the board had made, from the insinuations of Nundcomer, that we really meant to place Mahomed Reza Kawn on the misnud, when he was convinced of our real design, and had engaged us to pledge our honours to the performance of the treaty; he appeared more satisfied, and probably would have remained so, had he not been encouraged to expect the release and reinstatement of Nundcomer on lord Clive's arrival. And if we were necessitated to urge some points in terms we would wish to have avoided, we were drove to it by the opposition we met with from Nundcomer and his adherents. It was our desire and our aim to treat the nabob with a becoming respect, but the struggles of these people to thwart every measure, the board had recommended, obliged us now and then to enforce them in more positive terms, and to explain to them the mischiefs they would unavoidably draw upon themselves by such a procedure, and how evidently they were sacrificing the nabob's welfare to their private views. I always esteemed it a contest with the nabob's officers, not with him, the executing the service we were sent on, engaged us in many disagreeable altercations, and it could not be accomplished without resolution and perseverance.

The company acquired by this treaty, an additional income confirmed to them of sixty lacs of rupees, per annum; had the whole military force of the province in their own hands, and obtained the power of interfering more or less, in the affairs of government, and nominations of the nabob's officers, as circumstances might render necessary for their welfare and success: when the government became recent, it could only be secured to Nazem O Dowlah, by the power of the company's force, and they thought they had a right to prescribe such conditions for his support, as seemed most conducive to their welfare. When the company's interest were altogether secured, and the orders of the board fully executed, it is very true, that I accepted a present from the nabob; I never made a secret of it, as the custom of Indostan on such occasions, is well known to every body, sanctifies the acceptance; and where presents have not been esteemed the price of improper services, I never heard a reflection cast on those who did receive them. When I had done my duty to the company, I thought myself at liberty to accept a present from the nabob, which I am confident, can in no shape prove injurious to the company; whilst the settlement of the government was under consideration; I declined every overture that was made, which is well known to the company's servants at Calcutta; and though Mr. Spencer accepted afterwards, an offer of two lacs from the nabob, he had previously refused one of eleven lacs. It is certain, that Messieurs Leycester and Spencer might have made immense fortunes, had they not

declin-

declined the offers made them by the nabob and his minister.

- It has been always my opinion, said Mr. Leycester, before the board of Calcutta, that in a country not under the most absolute tyranny, every man's property was at his own disposal, and every one is at liberty to accept what is offered, without fear or compulsion, the same not being a consideration for improper services : the adopting opposite maxims, is contrary to the known practice of our predecessors in the council ; and though absolute orders, with a penalty annexed, may make the acceptance of presents improper and inconvenient, yet they cannot alter the rectitude of the act itself ; who can condemn a man, who having an opportunity of obtaining a comfortable maintenance for no dishonourable sacrifice, should miss it.

Since the contests which prevailed afterwards among the proprietors at home, the orders from the court of directors have been so fluctuating, that it has really been difficult to collect the sentiments that were to guide the conduct of the company's servants abroad. Mr. Gray never gave up a single advantage, he could have acquired for the company, to gratify his private interest. He was a member of that board, who procured an additional yearly revenue of eighty lacks of rupees, to the possessions they held before ; making with these in all, at least one million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, per annum. Had the gentlemen of council been disposed to spare the nabob in his assignment, he would have given them much larger sums, and no complaints would have been made on this subject,

The foreign marine trade was once a fund of advantage to the company's servants, but that was before Serajah Dowlah's war, when commerce flourished both in Bengal and in the marts abroad; since that time, the internal commotions, in which these countries have been involved, have rendered that branch so very precarious, that voyages have proved most times unsuccessful for several years past. There has been almost a constant series of warfare in Bengal; several worthy servants of the company have fallen unfortunate victims of Moorish barbarity, in the two revolutions caused by avarice and policy.

Lord Clive's secret committee endeavoured to impute to their predecessors malversations, of which they were judges and complainants. To support these charges, Mooteram was arrested at Calcutta by a party of seapoys, confined close prisoner in his house under a serjeant's guard, with all the terrors attending a man already convicted and condemned of capital offences: ignorant as he was of the English laws and undoubted rights, the select committee obliged him to swear that he would answer all the questions put to him to betray the secrets of his master, or make against himself.

Had Mooteram been accused of any capital crime, or of having done any thing contrary to law, if liable to be tried by our laws and by Englishmen, acting with a lawful authority as his judges, he ought to have had his indictment in a public manner, and been allowed counsel, a justice never denied to any under the protection of the English government. Had the nabob submitted him to the committee as his judges, a fair trial was

what he had a right to expect; and that he should not have been thus by force, imprisonment, and fear of his life and honour, to give evidence that might make against himself, and in order to be brought as a proof against any subject of Britain, enjoying the rights and protection of this parent state. When such undue influence, unlawful means and violence are used to obtain an evidence, no credit is to be given to answers on oath to all grievances that should be put to a person while under restraint, imprisonment, and fear. The honour and credit of the council were trampled upon, by the noble president and his committee, in so much, that no one man of distinction belonging to the country government, dared receive or pay visits to, and from the members of the council, from a notion that had been propagated, that they had no authority, and were made absolutely dependents on the committee, that usurped an authority they had no right to; then force and violence took the place of the law and liberty, military execution and imprisonment over-awed and extorted evidences, before a tribunal and judges, whose powers the noble president declared was what their own will thought fit to assign. One should think from the proceedings of his lordship and his committee, that they were piqued to find the interest of the company so well secured before their arrival; the gentlemen who had felt the defects of the former treaty, were full as well qualified to remedy them in the new one, as the pretended reformers. His lordship expressed much chagrin that the affair of his jaghire had been settled according to his agreement with the company; without

but his interposition, though a better opportunity could not have occurred to get it done. Mr. Spencer, whose merit and services the company cannot erase from their records, was revered by that party which in England opposed lord Clive, and the gentlemen of his committee; any attack upon him or his measures was an attack upon the party who espoused the man and his system; this accounts for the uncommon neglect and disregard shewn to Mr. Spencer by lord Clive, though he joined with the board in thanks to the same gentleman for the zeal he had shewn for the company's welfare. Though the gentlemen of lord Clive's committee, from their long absence from India, could not possibly be at first proper judges of the company's affairs and interests; they never on any occasion consulted with, or asked the sentiments of the council, the sentiments of a former administration on divers important subjects, merited more consideration and respect; and such a deference would have saved them the reproach of many capital errors and inconsistencies. With regard to presents in general, they had the approved example of the president lord Clive himself, for their guide, who stipulated a princely fortune, for Meer Jaffier's elevation to the misnud; and though he professed the company's welfare was his only motive for staying in India, yet he acknowledged he made use of the influence of Juggut Seat to apply for a jaghire, which though amounting to 30,000l. per annum, was not thought improper by him to accept of, even in the circumstances of distress he then represents the old nabob to have been in, his life twice saved from his troops mutinying for their arrears, only by the awe

of our arms, and large balances then due to the company, which were not paid till after the revolution, after 1769. If the books of the nabob's treasury, from the time that Meer Jaffier obtained the government, down to this day, had been referred to as a proof of the company's servants rapaciousness, such a retrospect and scrutiny into their proceedings would have covered them with shame and infamy. There is not one of them in the civil or military, from colonel Clive down to the present time, that have not received presents while in their power. One of the stipulations which Mr. Scrafton was instructed to make in the secret negotiations, concerted with Meer Jaffier Ally Kawn, before the army was ordered to move, related merely to the sums required by the secret committee. Mr. Johnson who had succeeded to Mr. Spencer in the station of Persian translator, for carrying on the correspondence with the country government under lord Clive, and Mr. Lushinton was appointed to assist under him. The day the troops embarked, Mr. Johnson was ordered to return and do his duty in the artillery ; he was the only person who had acted under the colonel during the negotiation with Meer Jaffier, that was afterwards omitted in the nabob's private bounty, when the resolution in his favour was crowned with success. Mr. Scrafton got a considerable fortune ; Mr. Lushington, with many others, who were the colonel's friends, were presented with such immense sums, that the nabob could not find money in the treasury to pay what had been stipulated for the company, for restitution. Navy and army, to be paid on his being seated in the misjud, the greatest part was deferred to be paid

paid within three years, and by assignments at last on the revenues of the province. This affected the army and navy in the discount they were necessitated, on this pretext to allow the company for advancing their shares in ready money; and the company depended on the success of the war for three years to secure their balance.

After Mr. Johnston had executed the service he was sent upon in behalf of the company, without any promise or prospect of reward, while the nabob was under no incumbrances, and kept regularly his payments for the army and the restitution; lacs lying in his treasury at Calcutta. Let the world judge whether he might have received presents, as well as the other servants employed with him, or his lordship and friends, sums infinitely larger eight years before, and the jaghire afterwards, with the greatest propriety.

The gentlemen who made the treaty with Meer Cossim, claimed some merit in having thus rejected his offer, till the debts Jaffier Ally Kav n left still owing to the company, and the arrears of the troops, were paid, yet none of these gentlemen pretended they would not receive them afterwards, nor could some of them say they did not.

According to the noble lord's own observation, it would have appeared absurd after so many years services, after Mr. Johnston had risqued his life so often, and experienced many reverses; had he refused this only honourable opportunity that ever was likely to offer of becoming independent, and to have trusted to the future kind offices of lord Clive.

At the same time the nabob conferred these favours on Messieurs Johnstone, Leycester, Gray, &c. there was a demand on him for the money of the jaghire, which the nabob had received since the company stopt the payment of it to lord Clive. In consequence of the nabob having signed the fard sual, which represented that Sabut Jung. Colonel Clive having been honoured with the rank of 6000 horse, and having now a formidable force ready for the king's service, the expence of which he could not defray for want of a jaghire, he hoped the nabob's pleasure might be signified, whether on condition of giving a mutchulea for procuring the king's sunnud, and adjusting the terms, till it should arrive, the colonel should receive the sum of £. 222,958¹²-10, the rents of that jaghire of the nazim. Now though there appeared a translation of the nabob's pervannah to the president and council, for paying the rents of the jaghire to lord Clive in 1758, the translators of the above papers never appeared, except the Sunnud dewanee, though they seemed of a nature to set his lordship's claim to that jighire in a very different light to what it must have appeared when the obligation was not considered, and when the king's sunnud with the terms of the jighire were therein expressed, as being absolutely requisite to be procured to make it valid, and were never obtained.

Though Mr. Johnson's conduct in the trusts committed to his charge had been approved of, in repeated letters from the board, and his services had been recommended home in terms very favourable to the directors, yet from every circumstance and proceeding, there seemed a pre-determination in

the committee to injure his character and ruin his fortune. Considering the rank of credit he had hitherto supported as a member of the council, he could not submit to further indignities, or act in a subordinate station. The noble president and his committee, instead of aiming to extenuate the supposed offence, according to the practice of the courts of justice, where the greatest criminals are arraigned, have evidently strove to aggravate every circumstance that they endeavoured to charge upon Mr. Johnston, even in regard to the bills, which he asserted, were ordered to be given back to Mahomed Reza Kawn, after he had signed the covenants unconditionally, though he might have received their amounts long before. The obvious question was never put to Mooteram, whether he had ever informed Mr. Johnston, that Mahomed Reza Kawn had refused to receive them? and whether, on the contrary, he had not informed him repeatedly that they were given back? the very night before Mooteram's arrest, and his confinement, he brought Mr. Johnstone a message from Mahomed Reza Kawn, desiring he would lend him 50,000 rupees, to pay in on account of the Decca rents for lord Clive's jaghire-money; and the answer he returned was, why he did not use the money of the bills that were given back? though the examination of those they would make witnesses, was in a language in which none of his lordship's committee were at all perfect; and it was of the greatest consequence to have been certain, that all the questions and answers were strictly and fully tendered, and that whatever was said by the prisoners in the terror and confusion they were in, should be

be taken down in their own words, especially as expressions in this language so often admit of interpretations, that may be rendered for or against ; yet Mooteram and Bussantroy were confronted with Mahomed Reza Kawn and Juggut Se  t, who were first called upon to compose their narrative. 'It must be observed, with how little candour the select committee related their proceedings. In regard to Mooteram, who was expected to be a principal evidence, they said he was only ordered to be sent for ; no notice was taken that he had been seized the day before by a party of seapoys, and was kept prisoner, with three centries over him, without liberty of seeing any person whatsoever except his menial servants, as if they purposely evaded the avowal of such unwarrantable acts. He continued a long while in the same close confinement, as well as Bussantroy under military guards ; and under these circumstances, lord Clive proposed in council, he might be called and examined, as if such treatment was not sufficient to deter any black man from retracting, however much inclined, whatever he might have said before, false or contradictory, where he could not but expect that retraction would draw on him still more disgrace and unhappy consequences.' The suffering of Mooteram pointed out too plainly what others had to expect from such arbitrary power, and seemed well calculated to excite every accusation that could possibly be scraped together from such selfish disappointed men, against the gentlemen who had the administration, and managed the affairs of the company with so much credit and success,

The repeated insults and injuries Mr. Johnston received, when he presided as chief for the collection of the revenues, engaged him to resign the company's service ; when the rajah was sent for to Calcutta, he did not even dare to visit him, apprehending that guards might be put upon him, after the example of Mooteram. With what credit could he pretend to return again to the factory, where he must have appeared so contemptible and of so little consequence, that even those placed under him, durst not come near him for fear of his lordship's displeasure. From the tenor of the proceeding of the noble president and his select committee, Mr. Johnstone could not but consider them as his avowed enemies, and he resolved to continue no longer in the service, while they usurped the whole power into their own hands.

The imputations of lord Clive, and his passive committee, against Mr. Vansittart's administration, might with more justice be retorted upon his lordship's government ; it was a series of transactions, equally prejudicial to the company's interest and to the national character ; all his civil and military regulations seemed to demonstrate that his government was smeared with corruption, that principles of rapacity and oppression influenced their deliberations, and that every spark of sentiment and public spirit was lost and extinguished in the unbound-ed lust of unmerited wealth.

From the very time his lordship received the first advices at Fort St George, of the Demise of Meer Jassier and of Sujah Dowlah's defeat, he took upon himself to arraign the authors of the definitive measures that had been taken in respect to the peace, and

and filling the vacancy in the nizamut before his arrival, which the council of Calcutta did not think proper to wait for. Indeed, his lordship's hopes of providing for his friends was frustrated, when he heard that a treaty had been drawn up by the board, with a few additions to that concluded with Meer Jaffier, and a deputation appointed to raise the natural son of the deceased nabob to the subahdary, in prejudice to the claim of the grandson, and the noble lord could not approve of a resolution dramatically opposite to his aspiring views, Miran's son being a minor, this circumstance alone would have naturally brought the whole administration into his hands, as he was resolved to realize that shadow and influence, which he would not even allow to a nominal nabob. The company's interest were to be sacrificed to the pretended reformers, that they might revel in the spoils of treasures, before impoverished and afterwards totally annihilated.

The young nabob being acquainted with the disposition of lord Clive and the gentlemen of his committee, a few days after his lordship's arrival, paid him a visit, in which the noble president made his excellency ostentatious promises of protection and support, provided he made better complaints against the government of those who had preceeded him in' the presidency and council, that he might evince the necessity of a reformation, and prevail on the company to give him carta blanche. In consequence of those insinuations, the nabob produced a list of insults and indignities he had been exposed to, and complained of the embezzlement of near 20 lacs of rupees issued from his treasury, for pur-

purposes unknown during the late negotiations. This produced the desired enquiry; in consequence of which Mahomed Reza Cawn and the Naib Sulab, were then called upon to account for the large disbursement from the treasury. Lord Clive having by menaces extorted the evidence answerable to his purpose, represented in a letter to the court of directors, that the immense sum of seventeen lacs, had been contributions levied on the weakness of the government, and violently exacted from the dependent state and timid disposition of the minister. The charge was strongly denied by the accused, who boldly arraigned the conduct and denied the powers of the select committee, as candour and decency required the truth of a charge brought against any of the members, should be determined by the board.

Mr. Johnston asserted, that no proofs could be produced of menaces being used to obtain a sum of money from Juggarsat; and accused the noble president and his committee of having obtained this evidence by military force and terrors. Lord Clive himself did not approve the covenants for preventing the abuse of the customary indulgence to receive presents.

By recalling free merchants and other Europeans, who were permitted to reside up the country, in all the different parts of the nabob's dominions, the business of the company's servants suffered considerably, from their being obliged to employ black agents on many affairs that demanded the vigour and activity of Europeans. Hence many persons of merit were deprived the means of subsistence.

Lord Clive having found Sujah Dowlah averse to the establishment of factories in his dominions; which he considered as laying the foundation of a future rupture, and the only thing that could possibly renew hostilities, very justly observed, that the encroachments of the company in Bengal, the great abuse of the company's servants, and the extraordinary extension of the privileges originally granted to the English, had been productive of much confusion and bloodshed in Bengal, and he feared might produce similar consequences in his country; lord Clive and general Carnac judged it adviseable to omit the word factories in the treaty; but without relinquishing the pretended right; should it be found expedient to enforce it.

Notwithstanding his lordship boasted of his pacific measures, as the most conducive to the permanent welfare and prosperity of the company; he doubted whether remaining as merchants subjected to the jurisdiction of the country government, or the supporting their usurped privileges and possessions by the sword, were likely to prove more beneficial to the company, and seemed inclined to keep in awe the neighbouring princes by a formidable military establishment. All, said he, must belong to the company or the nabob, and we leave you to judge, which alternative is the most desirabla and the most expedient in the present circumstance of affairs. Thus all notions of right and wrong are confounded, and justice sacrificed to convenience.

To secure the company's possessions they required six hundred recruits to be sent out annually, viz. five hundred infantry, sixty artillery, twenty cavalry

cavalry, and twenty sergeants for the sepoys: To this number were to be added thirty volunteers and officers, and six or seven gentlemen from the academy at Woolwich for artillery officers; this being a service that suffers extremely, for want of persons properly instructed to conduct it: since no officer who knows the benefit of the infantry service there, will chuse to quit it for any advantage the artillery will afford, they requested 4000 stands of arms annually.

Lord Clive and the gentlemen of the secret committee, in the letters to the directors, passed mutual compliments on each other, on the interior policy and the military regulations introduced into the Bengal provinces. They extolled the good effects of regimenting the company's troops, of their discipline, subordination, and the economy with which all this grand system of reformation was carried on. They praised to the skies general Carnac's extraordinary merit, who should have appeared still more conspicuous, had he been assisted by field officers, and not thwarted by the late governors and councils.

In regard to the small arms, the bad quality of them had in general exposed the company's possessions to the greatest risk and danger. The locks were ill finished, and the metal so badly tempered, as not to stand the heat of the sun, in that climate. The company purchased the small arms at the rate of eighteen shillings per firelock, while government paid twenty-seven to the persons who furnished them. The casting of shot and shells in India, is an object of great importance, and they should always employ six persons well versed in

this business. The illicit importation of small arms to the India settlements, and particularly in Bengal, has of late years, become a profitable branch of trade with the European captains, as well as that of furnishing the natives with ammunition. They elude the searches of the company's officers, by sending round small vessels to meet them at sea in certain latitudes, or to Teneriff, or St. Jago, out of the reach of their inquiries. The continuation of such practices may prove fatal to the company's possessions, who should take every step in their power to prevent the sale of all kind of fire arms.

Upon Mr. Johnston's resigning the company's service, Mr. Verelst was appointed supervisor in the collection of revenues ; his diligence and attention to this great object, could not fail of being commended by his colleagues, who tried to raise their reputation on the defamation of Mr. Vanfittart's government.

Indeed, circumstances were now widely different from what they were a few years since, when the company confined their whole attention to commerce, and were happy in being able to complete their investments without insult, or exaction from the country government. Now they are become sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom ; their success is beheld with jealousy by the other European powers, who maintain settlements in India, and their interests are so extended, so complicated, and so connected with those of the several surrounding powers, as to form a nice and difficult system of politics ; the conduct of which has been too often committed into the hands of rash, inexperienced and ignorant young men, who had neither dis-

cretion, judgment or steadiness for preserving this immense fabric in its splendor and prosperity.

As lord Clive and the secret committee, were determined to secure the whole power they had engrossed to themselves, they opposed with all their might the orders of the directors for enlarging the council from twelve to sixteen members, under pretence that this increase in the number of the board would be productive of further inconveniences, and prove very detrimental to the company's interest, they declared it to be their firm opinion founded on experience, that the business of the Bengal government could never be so effectually conducted as by a select unanimous committee. Thus by dividing the power into many hands, their authority should be weakened, in depriving their measures of that secrecy necessary to the accomplishment of their private speculations, they excluded from the council, a number of persons who had a just claim to their promotion by their services and seniority, and appointed junior servants, whom they recommended to the court of directors as proper persons to fill the vacancies, merely, because they were wholly devoted to his lordship and the committee. There was indeed, no other form of government so well adopted, and so perfectly congenial to the system of oppression and monopoly, these gentlemen intended to establish. When they apprehended some inconveniences from a compliance with the instructions of the directors, they took upon themselves to suspend and even to revoke their orders.

The post of resident at the Durbar, being an employment of consequence since the grant of the Dewanee, Mr. Sykes was appointed to the Durbar,

as a gentleman whose views and principles agreed perfectly with his lordship's administration.

As long as ambition and avarice shall be the predominant passions of the company's servants, whose sense of honour and duty to their employers are estranged by the too eager pursuit of their own immediate advantage, the sudden, and among many, the unwarrantable acquisition of riches, will countenance luxury in every shape, and in its most pernicious excess. These two enormous evils have infected almost every member of each department through the whole presidency of Bengal; every inferior grasps at wealth, that he might assume that spirit of profusion, which is the only distinction between him and his superior. Thus all distinction has ceased, and every rank became in a manner upon an equality. In a country where money is plenty, it is no wonder that corruption should find its way to a spot so well prepared to receive it. It is no wonder, that the lust of riches should readily embrace the preferred means of its gratification, or that the instruments of power, should proceed even to extortion in these cases where simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity. Examples of this sort set by superiors, could not fail of being followed in a proportionable degree by inferiors, the evil was contagious and spread among the civil and military, down to the writer, the ensign, and the free merchant.

The large sums of money acquired by donation, were so publicly known and vindicated, that every one thought he had a right to enrich himself at all events, with as much excretion as possible, the mong-

monopolies were another fund of immense profits to such of the company's servants as were permitted to enjoy a share in them, while not a rupee of advantage accrued to the government, and very little to the company from the inland trade. Had not these various sources of wealth been lately discovered, the astonishment to find individuals so suddenly enriched, should not have yet ceased; there was scarce a gentleman in the Bengal settlement, who had not fixed upon a very short period for his return to England with affluence; from hence arose that spirit of independency, which in a manner set all the orders of the directors at defiance, and dictated a total contempt of them, as often as obedience was found incompatible with private interest; a great part of the revenues of the country, amounting to near four millions sterling per annum, was chiefly divided among the company's servants, and accounts for the sudden acquisition of their fortunes.

These excesses were not confined to the civil servants alone, the military departments had also caught the infection, and riches, the bane of discipline were daily promoting the ruin of the army; an independent fortune was the certain prospect of a field officer. If too rapid a fortune acquired by those, from whom the company expect the study of commerce and policy, is detrimental to their civil concerns, how effectually destructive must that evil prove to their military operations. Youths are either just sent out from the academy, and often without even the elements of education, to whom commissions have been granted; surely, they cannot claim a right to an independent fortune, but after

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They have raised by merit to a superior command ; yet these raw and unexperienced officers, have been suffered without controul, to take possession for themselves of the whole booty, donation-money, and plunder, on the capture of a city. This happened at Banaras : every state must be near its period, when the rage of luxury and corruption has seized upon its leaders. Can trade be encouraged for public benefit, where the management unfortunately devolves upon those who make private interest their rule of action ? has sudden affluence ever failed, from the infancy of military discipline, to the present perfection of it, to corrupt the principle, and destroy the spirit of an army ? independency of fortune is always averse to those duties of subordination, which are inseparable from the duties of a soldier ; and in India, if the acquisition be sudden, a relaxation of discipline is immediately the consequence. We do not mean, by these observations to exclude riches from the military : honour alone is scarcely a sufficient reward for the toils and dangers of the field : but the acquisition of wealth ought to be so gradual, as to admit not a prospect of completing it, till succession by merit, to the rank of a field officer, should have laid a good foundation for the claim.

Lord Clive, restoring Sujah Dowlah the whole of his dominions, proceeded more from the policy of not extending the company's territorial possessions, as he could claim no share in the glory and advantage of these new conquests, than the generous principle of attaching him by gratitude, though this was his apparent motive. Indeed, the attempt of retaining the conquered country must have increased

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creased the military establishment; and the acts of oppression and innumerable abuses, which would have been committed, and which could neither have been prevented nor remedied, at the distance of 700 miles from the presidency, must infallibly have laid the foundation of another war, destructive and unsuccessful: the old privileges and possessions of the company would have been endangered by every supply they might have been tempted to afford in support of the new; and the natives must have finally triumphed in their inability to support the weight of their unbounded ambition.

His lordship in a letter to the directors, dated Calcutta, September 30th, 1765; notwithstanding all the arts of sophistry, indicated a determination to abolish the powers of the council, in order to sway without controul, as the five members of the secret committee were entirely at his discretion. Five gentlemen, said he; well versed in the company's true interest; of abilities to plan, and resolution to execute; gentlemen whose fortunes are honourably approaching to affluence, and whose integrity has never suffered them to exceed the bounds of moderation; a select committee composed of such men, will transact more business in a week, than the council can in a month.

In my opinion, it is the duty of the council to make the power of the president appear as extensive as possible in the eyes of the people; that all correspondence with the country princes, should be carried through him alone, that the council should upon all occasions be unanimous; the dignity of his station, and that he ought to be considered among the natives as the sole manager and conductor of poli-

political affairs. This was the sort of government his lordship wished to establish in Bengal. He lamented the unhappy change, which within a few years had arisen in the manner and conduct of the company's servants in that presidency, when himself had been the first cause of the revolutions which happened, in consequence of Meer Jassier's elevation to the misnud, and which were productive of that spirit of rapaciousness and corruption, which prevailed afterwards in these provinces. He proposed to appoint five or six gentlemen from Madras, members of the council at Calcutta, as the conduct of the gentlemen upon that establishment is in general unacceptable, and the examples of their regularity, discretion, and moderation, would be a means of restoring Bengal to good order and government. This scheme, which afterwards took place, was to exclude from the council several members, who strenuously opposed his lordship's arbitrary measures and innovations, and could not approve of his pernicious plan of reformation.

The sources of tyranny and oppression, which have been opened by European agents, acting under the authority of the company's servants, and the numberless black agents and their substitutes, will be a lasting reproach to the English name in Bengal. It is impossible to enumerate the grievances of the unfortunate inhabitants; instead of securing the confidence of the natives, they have been frightened with a rod of iron. Ambition, success, and luxury, have formed a system of politics, at the expence of English honour, the company's faith, and even of common justice and huma-

humanity. Foreign nations have long entertained jealousies of the commercial superiority. Public complaints have been frequently made from both French and Dutch factories ; that the dread of the English name, added to the encouragement of the company's servants at different aurungs, had deterred the weavers from complying with their usual and necessary demands ; and soon or later national remonstrances will be made on that subj. ct. Perhaps one half of the trade being reserved to the English company, and the other divided between the French, Dutch and Danes, in such proportion, as might be settled between their respective commissaries, might adjust these disputes to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. Besides, as every nation which trades to the East Indies constantly brings out silver for the purchase of merchandize in return ; and as the English company's revenues will for the future enable them to furnish all their investments, without any remittance from England, it seems necessary that they should, in some degree encourage the trade of others, in order that this country may be supplied by them with bullion, to replace the quantity the English shall annually send to China, or to any other part of the world.

The committee of secrecy appointed to enquire into the administration of justice in Bengal, and considering it as one of the most important objects of their commission, to report to the house the state of judicature in that country, as the necessary ground work for establishing proper regulations for the future administration of justice, have considered the alterations which have been introduced into the ancient state of judicature of the mogul em-

Empire by the influence or authority of the company, or their servants.

In examining into the ancient constitution of judicature in Bengal, during the vigour of the Mogul government, the committee chiefly enquired into the following points. The names and distinctions of the several courts ; the judges in each ; the laws and rules by which they decided ; under what controul of appeal they lay ; under what influence by the power of the government ; and lastly, the purity or corruption that prevailed in the administration of justice in these courts.

From the general account given by the gentlemen examined before them ; and also, from that contained in the books and correspondence of the company, according to the ancient constitution of Bengal, the administration of justice, both in the capital and several districts, was distributed into different branches of judicature, for the exercise of criminal, civil, religious, and revenue jurisdiction.

The criminal court in every district, was generally known by the name of Phousdary ; the zemindar or rajah of the district was the judge in this court ; his jurisdiction extended to all criminal cases ; but in such as were of a capital nature, the sentence was not to be executed until a report of the case was made to the government at Murshabad, and their orders received upon it. The proceedings in this court were summary ; the most frequent mode of punishment, particularly where the accused was a man of wealth, was by fine ; and every fine imposed by the authority of the court was a perquisite of the zemindar himself, by virtue

justice, the general course of application for redress against any proceedings of the court of justice, was to the power of the government, especially where the party found himself in a situation to expect its favour and protection, and the government upon such occasions, not only exercised a discretionary power over the proceedings of the courts but frequently gave such remedy, or inflicted such punishment as they thought proper, without the interposition of any judicature. It appears that the want of subordinate jurisdictions in different parts of the zemindary districts, was attended with much hardship to the lower class of people, that such of them only as lived in the neighbourhood of the seat of judicature, could have access to these tribunals, and that even to these, the expences attending suits in the courts, were almost an entire exclusion of the possibility of obtaining justice by law. That on the other hand, the principal persons in the several districts could seldom be brought under the authority of the courts, and when they submitted to them, were able to defeat their justice by means of their influence with government.

The administration of justice during the vigour of the ancient constitution, was liable to great abuse and oppression, the judges generally lay under the influence of interest, and often under that of corruption, and the interposition of government from the motives of favour or displeasure, was another frequent cause of the perversion of justice.

One material circumstance, that must have greatly tended to encourage the abuse of this judicature in these courts, appears to have been the want of

any judicial register of their proceedings, so that there could not exist any authentic document of their proceedings to be the subject of review, by any superior authority

Causes respecting religion appear to have been distinguished from the ordinary course of judicature, questions of this nature were not trusted to the judgment or discretion of the temporal judge; in every such case, the judge before whom the question depended, was obliged to call in the assistance of the cazee of the district, and even to submit to his authority in the decision of the cause. The Gentoos subjects enjoyed a similar privilege with respect to all cases of a religious nature, in which persons of that persuasion were parties; for that in every such case, it was necessary, that the temporal judge should be assisted by a bramin of the cast, particularly where the cause was of such a nature as might be attended with the forfeiture of cost.

All cases respecting the revenue, or the rents of the lands, were under the cognizance of a peculiar court in every district, formerly the zemindar, or rajah held the authority of this judicature also, but for some years before the acquisition of the dewanee, this jurisdiction of the zemindar has gone into disuse, and has since been exercised by the naib Duan, appointed in every district by the principal Duan at Murshadabad, this officer decided in all causes of revenue, but appeal lay from his decision to the principal Duan.

With respect to the courts established at the capital by the ancient constitution of the Bengal province. The nazim as supreme magistrate presides personally in the trials of capital offenders, and

and holds a court every Sunday; crimes not capital are tried before the Phousdar, but reported to the nazim for his judgment and sentence.

The Duan is the proper judge of all causes of property, except those which respect land and inheritance and also take cognizance of quarrels, frays and abusive names.

The cazee is the judge in all claims of inheritance or succession, assisted by the Mufti, who is the expounder of the law; and also by the Motesib, a magistrate whose immediate duty is to superintend the weights and measures and other matters of police; the manner of proceeding in the cazee's court is, that after hearing the cause, the Mufti writes the law applicable to it, and the cazee pronounces judgment accordingly; unless he, or the Motesib disapproves of the law; in which case, the cause is referred to the nazim, who summons the general assembly, consisting of the above-mentioned magistrates, and all the learned in the law, to meet and decide upon it; which decision is final.

Such appears to have been the system of judicature, established by the ancient constitution of Bengal; the subjects of the mogul empire in that province derived little protection or security from any of these courts; and in general, though forms of judicature were established and preserved, the despotic principles of the government rendered them the instruments of power rather than of justice, not only unavailing to protect the people, but often the means of the most grievous oppressions, under the cloak of this judicial character.

As to the manner in which the English company, or its servants, used to proceed, during the ancient

government, to compel payment of their debts from any of the natives not residing under the British flags where the debtor was a person dependent or connected with the company in the course of commerce, and residing (as these persons generally did) in the neighbourhood of any of the company's settlements, the general practice was to lay hold of his person by their own authority, without applying to any court, or officer of the government: they sometimes ventured to exercise the same right, even where the debtor did not fall under that description, but this was an abuse, though generally overlooked by the government. In the former case, the government tacitly allowed and countenanced the practice of seizing and detaining the debtor, being inclined to give all possible encouragement to the Europeans, from whose commerce their country then derived such considerable advantages. In cases where it was not thought prudent to proceed in this manner, the only remedy was by application to government: but there was seldom occasion to make use of either of these ways to compel payment of any debt to the company, or their servants; for the persons dealing with them reaped so much benefit from that connection, that there seldom arose any dispute between them.

The French and Dutch exercised the same privilege of seizing their debtors, and even continued the practice after the company's acquisition of the Dewannee. This practice having been since prohibited by the noble president and council, the French in very strong terms remonstrated against this order, as a violation of a right which they had always held and exercised under the country government;

vernment; but the president and council denied this pretension, and insisted that the French should have recourse to the courts of justice to compel payment of their debts; but this dispute has not been brought to a conclusion.

With respect to the alterations, the ancient state of judicature in Bengal has undergone since the decline of the mogul government, and the introduction of the company's influence in Bengal, during the first period of Meer Jaffier's government, although he had been raised to the nabobship by the power and influence of lord Clive; the administration of justice continued in its former course, with little interruption or alteration from that power which had made the revolution. During the government of Cossim Ally Kawn, the English influence began to operate, not only in consequence of the revolution itself, accomplished by their power, but because from that time, many English, with or without the consent of the presidency, dispersed themselves over the country, and engaged in its interior commerce, which often led them to interfere with the judicature and government of the country; besides Cossim's attention was so much turned to the increase of his revenue, that he gave very little regard to the administration of justice, or to the maintenance of that part of his authority against the encroachments of the English subjects residing in his territories, farther than was necessary for securing the collection of his revenues.

The third revolution made by the English, in restoring Meer Jaffier, necessarily added to their power and influence in the whole administration of government in Bengal, and of course rendered the admi-

administration of justice in the judicature of the country, very liable to be swayed or influenced by any servant of the company, whose situation gave him an opportunity, and whose interest afforded him incitement, to interfere in any of their judicial proceedings. Since the establishment of the English power in Bengal, on its present footing, the benyans of the English company's servants, wherever they reside, entirely govern the courts of judicature, and they even frequently sit as judges in these courts. In 1771, the members of the company's council, sat at Patna, alternately in the revenue court together with the rajah.

But though these successive revolutions accomplished by the English power in Bengal, necessarily rendered their influence very operative in the affairs of the government, and although the gomastahs of the servants of the company frequently assumed to themselves the exercise of judicature; yet, it does not appear, that any alteration in the legal constitution of the judicature of the country was made before the acquisition of the Dewanee. Ever since some alterations have been made and a variety of regulations proposed, respecting the administration of justice; but the effect has appeared in the most enormous abuses, and the most unwarrantable acts of arbitrary power. As the residents at the durbar possessed a very extensive authority, they should for the honour of the English nation use it to promote justice and protect the natives from injury.

The court of directors had recommended to the select committee at Bengal, to endeavour to introduce laws of inheritance, and as near as possible to

to the spirit of the laws of England ; particularly, to endeavour to abolish the power of seizing the effects of those who die without children ; and to introduce the right of bequeathing by will ; referring to their judgment, how far this could be done, consistent with the claims of the rajahs and land-holders, and the established custom of the country.

In a letter, dated August 1770, from the supervisor at Nattore, to the resident at the durbar, an account is given of the trial of a woman before the criminal court at Bhittareah, attended by the proper officers of the Mahometan and Gentoo religions, upon a charge of the murder of a woman, and the destruction of a child with which she was pregnant, by giving her medicines to procure an abortion, and using the most barbarous means in extracting the foetus. This trial was held publickly in the supervisor's presence ; the fact was clearly proved by different witnesses upon oath, and the court deemed her deserving capital punishment ; but they hesitated to pronounce that sentence, from a scrupulous regard to the strictness of the Mahometan law, which requires the attestation of a certain number of eye-witnesses, and those of the Mussulmen faith, to sanctify a sentence of death, even for murder, and with the clearest evidence of the fact. It therefore rests (continues the letter) with you and the minister of the nabob, to determine whether or not, it may be allowable to set aside those obstacles to the execution of a punishment, which is forbidden only by a religious partiality, incompatible with equity and the natural laws of society.

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The instructions of the president and council of Calcutta, communicated by the resident at the durbar, to the supervisors of the several districts, after observing the degree of corruption to which the courts of judicature were degenerated, and particularly the mischievous consequences of allowing arbitrary fines, and compromising offences, directed the supervisors, to check every such composition, and in matters of property to recommend arbitration as much as possible, and to inculcate into the minds of the people, that their only object is to provide for their relief and happiness. That in capital cases, the sentence should be referred to the resident at the durbar, and by him to the minister, to approve or mitigate it, according to the nature of the case. That they should establish registers of all causes and determinations to be lodged in the principal cutcherry of the province, and that an authenticated copy be transmitted to Murshabad. That they endeavour to reform all the corruption which have encroached on the primitive rights of the Mahometans and Hindoos, particularly in respect of the arbitrary impositions of fines. That all persons claiming any judicial or religious authority, should be summoned to produce their sunnuds, and that registers of these sunnuds should be kept, in order to prevent any for exercising a judicial, because a lucrative function, who is not appointed by government, if a Mahometan, or elected by his cast of a Hindoo. That the forfeiture of a cast should never be inflicted on any case but by sentence of the bramin, in a regular process, and upon clear proof of the offence ; but as the policy of the Mahometan government had provided,

vided, that where a Hindoo has legally forfeited his cast, he cannot be restored to it, without the sanction of the government ; that this principle should be kept up, as a direct assertion of the subordination of the Hindoos, who are a very considerable majority of the subjects.

The court of directors also sent orders to these commissioners, that they should make strict and speedy enquiry into the proceedings of the courts of justice throughout their settlements, and that if any extraordinary powers had interfered to interrupt the course and administration of justice, they should without delay correct all such abuses ; and that if they should find the established courts so imperfectly constituted, as not to be adequate to the right administration of justice, they should apply to the government, and obtain firmans for erecting such new judicatures as should appear most adequate to that purpose.

These commissioners accordingly assumed and exercised the right of superintending and reviewing the proceedings of the courts of justice in their several districts, where any case of difficulty or peculiar importance occurred, they reported a state of the proceedings to the resident at Murshadabad, in order, that he might lay it before the government, and return such orders as the nabob or his ministers with his approbation should direct. This practice accordingly has prevailed throughout Bengal, and appears to be the strongest evidence of the absolute sway, and controul to which the whole administration of government, and particularly the courts of justice, have submitted since the company's accession to the dewanee. Appeals were frequently made from

from the two courts at Dacca to the resident at the durbar, who made proper enquiry into, and decided ultimately the causes so brought before him.

Mahomed Reza Kawn having been joined by the gentleman appointed to reside at Murshadabad as a council of controul, the president and council resolved, that the council of controul should interpose as there should be occasion, and that every transaction relative to the government should ultimately come before them; in all criminal cases through the provinces, the trial was transmitted to them for their approbation, before the sentence was executed. Two courts were established by the council of controul, consisting of all the members of the council, to revise the proceedings of the country courts, and finally to determine thereon.

One of the greatest grievances in the administration of justice, was the venality and oppression of the Cazees, who since the company's accession, had invented a variety of new taxes upon the ryotts and established a mode of compromise for criminal offences.

The Cazees were directed never to demand any composition for crimes; that the rate of their fees be stuck up, attested by the zemindar on the wall of the cutchery in the Persian and Bengal languages. That the Peon apprehending a prisoner shall not take above two annas per day, besides victuals; and that where the person can give good security for his appearance, they should not keep Peons upon his person. That if any English Gomastah takes upon him to send peons and detain prisoners, or any inferior officers exercise jurisdictions beyond their own precinct, they should take

proper steps to put a stop to such unwarrantable practices.

Mr. Ducarel, supervisor at Purnea, made a report to the council of three criminal trials ; one for the murder of a child, in which sentence of death had been passed, waiting only for the proper approbation to be put in execution ; and two other cases of theft and robbery, for which, by the Mahometan law, the criminals were condemned to have one hand and one foot cut off, proposing that in lieu of that punishment, in these and similar cases, the criminals should be sent to the public works. The answer from the council stated, that the ultimate decision in criminal cases rested entirely with the Naib Subah, who returned his sentence to the officers of the Adawlat ; adding, that should the order of the president and council, with respect to the distinction to be observed between the dewanee and the nizamut, admit of the council's interfering in criminal cases, they should then take into consideration the propriety of the proposed deviations from the rules of the Mahometan law.

Mr. Rous, supervisor of Rageshaby, transmitted in a letter to the chief and council of revenue, the proceedings of two trials for different murders ; with respect to one of them, he only mentioned that the person accused had been condemned to die, and that two persons included in the charge were acquitted ; the other was the trial of a father for the murder of his daughter, an infant of six months old, by cleaving her head asunder ; the fact was proved according to the forms of the Mahometan law, by his own confession, excusing it as done in a fit of despair, on account of some delay in the

ceremony of his intended marriage : by the authority of one passage in the khoran, this criminal should have been punished with death ; but the latter commentators, and especially a society of learned men, who were employed by the authority of Aurengzebe to digest the civil and criminal institutions of the khoran, had mitigated the rigour of this law, regarding the destruction of a grown person, as a punishment more than adequate to the death of a child. He concluded with observing, that the peculiar circumstances of barbarity in this case ought, notwithstanding the lenity of these authorities, to undergo the severest punishment.

The council in answer to this letter, mentioned that, in consideration of the peculiar barbarity of the case, the Naib Subah had pronounced a sentence in some degree beyond the letter of the law, though not so far as affect the life of the culprit.

The president and council in their instructions said expressly, " Although we wish to interfere as little as possible with the business that appertains to the nizamut, and established by long usage in the country, yet as we are desirous of checking the arbitrary proceedings of the Moorish courts of justice, from a duty we owe to the happiness and security of the inhabitants ; we will therefore, that you will give the strictest attention to prevent injustice, as much as possible, by your representation to government as occasions offer.

Mr. Stewart, resident at Burdwan, in his answer observed, that the course of decision, by arbitration was found dilatory, undecisive and unsatisfactory : that the inhabitants were become very averse to that manner of proceeding, preferring great-

greatly the established cutcheries, especially whilst under the superintendance of a company's servant; that in his opinion, the abuses in the administration of justice were to be imputed rather to the corrupt principles of the Mahometan and Gentoo judges, than to any defects in the laws or in the regulations of the courts; and that therefore, these grievances could not be in any way so well redressed as by a strict superintendance of the company's servants in their several jurisdictions.

It is to be observed, that throughout all Indostan, in case of theft, robbery, or murder, the zamindar of the province is bound to prosecute the murderer or thief, and the effects; and are liable to be called themselves to account, if they fail in this duty.

Mr. Bently, chief at Luckypoor gave his opinion; that there would be inconvenience in the entire abolition of the judicial fees, by affording too much encouragement to litigation, whereby the charges of the cutcherries to government would be greatly increased; and that though discretionary fines ought not to be allowed, yet under proper regulations adopted to the degree of the offence, that mode of punishment seemed the least; that it seemed absolutely necessary to appoint subordinate powers of judicature, for the protection of the poor inhabitants residing at a distance from the metropolis of the district; that the mode of arbitration was in general, very difficult; as few persons chuse to undertake that office; and that, to carry it into general practice, it would be necessary to make the natives, when called upon, to act in that character, liable to certain fines on refusal or neglect.

The naib Duan presented a memorial to the president and council, on the subject of arbitration, accurately distinguishing such cases as are proper for that mode of decision, and such as must be decided by the courts of judicature; according to the law of the latter kind be stated all disputes of inheritance, property, purchases, assignments, and the like; that these cases depending upon the laws of the scriptures, according to the orders of the almighty and his prophet, cannot be proper subjects of administration, for the right must be decided according to the precepts of the law, and common arbitrators cannot be proper judges thereof. That cases of misdemeanor, or offence, by one subject to another, cannot be referred to arbitration, but must be judged and punished by the proper officers of justice, and much more especially crimes of a higher magnitude must undergo the judgment of the law itself: that on the other hand, in cases of debt, account at other commercial concern, arbitration is the best mode of decision: that he had accordingly issued orders to the officers of the courts of justice in the several districts, that in all matters of debt, trade, petty quarrels and ordinary occurrences where the parties are willing to refer, they should appoint arbitrators, and that registers be duly kept in the court of Adawlat of all causes decided in that way.

The council, in consequence of these representations enforced the necessity of restricting the orders relative to arbitration, to such cases specified for that purpose; for that it would be productive of the greatest dissatisfaction in the country, if that mode of decision was to be substituted in the place of judicial

dicial determinations, in such cases as fall under the fixt principles of the Mahometan law, that such a measure would be regarded by all the Mahometans as an infringement on their religion and customs, would excite great discontent and apprehension, and perhaps be liable to an obstinate and intlexible opposition. The president and council declared, that all cases of inheritance, marriages of other matters for which the Mahometan law has made provision, and likewise matters respecting inheritance; and the particular laws and usages of the casts of the Gehtoos should be decided by the established magistrates, assisted by the proper persons of the respective religions, according to the laws and usages of each.

The naib Duan remonstrated against the instructions of the president and council, which directed, that in cases of inheritance of the Gentoos, the magistrates should be assisted by the bramins of the cast to which the parties belong, and stated for his reasons against allowing a bramin to be called in to the decision of any matter of inheritance, or other dispute of Gentoos; that since the establishment of the Mahometan dominion in Hindostan, the bramins had never been admitted to such jurisdiction: that to order a magistrate of the faith to decide, in conjunction with a bramin, would be repugnant to the rules of the faith, and an innovation peculiarly improper in a country under the dominion of a musulman emperor: that where the matter in dispute can be decided by a reference to bramins, no interruption had ever been given to that mode of decision; but that where they think fit to resort

to the established judicatures of the country, they must submit to a decision according to the rules and principles of that law, by which alone these courts are authorised to judge : that there would be the greatest absurdity in such an association of judicature, because the bramin would determine according to the precepts and usages of his cast, and the magistrates must decide according to those of the Mahometan law : that in many instances the rules of the Gentoo and Musulman laws, even with respect to inheritance and succession, differ materially from each other.

There was to be a fixed time for the limitation of suits and complaints ; upon this point it is observed, that, both by the Mahometan and Hindoo laws, and by the usage of the country, all claims which have laid dormant for twelve years, whether land or money, are invalid.

The practice of individuals exercising authority over their debtors, was entirely abolished.

The judicatures existing at Calcutta consisted of the courts derived out of the constitution of the country; and of those established by his Britannic majesty's charter of justice, until the charter of justice granted to the company in the thirtenth year of his late majesty, the only courts of justice that existed in Calcutta were derived out of the constitution of the country. Soon after the establishment of the settlement at Calcutta, near the end of the last century, the English company obtained from the nabob the zemindary rights of the district around that settlement ; by which they became the zemindar of that district, with all the rights, incident to that office, amongst which, is the

the criminal, civil, and religious jurisdiction of the district. The company exercises these several jurisdictions within the district of Calcutta, in consequence of their being the zemindar of the district. There are three courts established at Calcutta, for the trial of crimes, for civil causes, and for matters of revenue.

The criminal court tries all crimes committed by the natives, and in this respect has a concurrent jurisdiction with the court of oyer and terminer, established by the charter of justice; one judge only sits in that court, appointed by the governor and council. Formerly one of the council was always appointed to this office, but this duty has of late years been entrusted to junior servants, one of the council being appointed monthly to superintend. In capital cases, three members of the board sit as judges in this court, and before the execution of the sentence, the proceedings must be laid before the governor and council. The civil court consists of several judges also appointed by the governor and council out of the junior servants, but seldom more than one actually sits. This court has jurisdiction of all causes between the natives, and also in causes between a native and an European, where the latter is plaintiff; but in this case the native may remove the cause into the mayor's court. The rule of judgment in these courts, is supposed to be the customs and usage of the country; and where no custom or usage applies, it is at the discretion of the judge.

The jurisdictions of these courts being in themselves very defective, and moreover very inadequate to the advanced state of this settlement, and similar

similar defects being found in other settlements of the company, application was made to the crown, in the thirteenth year of the late king, for a charter of justice.

A charter was accordingly granted by virtue of powers vested in the crown by several acts of parliament, grants and orders, "That there should be for ever thereafter, within the factory of Fort William, in Bengal, one body politic and corporate, by the name of the mayor and aldermen of Calcutta ; at Fort William in Bengal to consist of a mayor and nine aldermen, the mayor and seven aldermen being natural born subjects, but the other two to be allowed to be foreign protestants : and it is further granted, that the mayor and aldermen should for ever thereafter be, and are thereby constituted a court of record, by the name of the mayor's court at Calcutta ; and that they, or any three of them (the mayor or senior alderman then resident there to be one) may, and are thereby authorised, to try, hear and determine all civil suits, actions or plaints between party and party, arising within the said town or factory of Calcutta, or any of the factories, subordinate thereunto, except such suits as shall be between Indian natives, which shall be determined among themselves, unless both parties consent to the determination of the mayor's court ; and this court is also authorised to try suits, brought against the company, or by the company against any person.

This charter also constitutes the president and council to be a court of record, in order to receive, try and determine appeals from the judgments or decrees

decrees of the mayor's court : the determinations of this court to be final, if the value does not exceed 1000 pagadoes ; but if it exceeds that sum, the parties are allowed, within fourteen days after such decree or judgment is entered on record, to appeal to his majesty in council ; the said charter also establishes a court for recovery of small debts, within the said town or factory at Calcutta and the factories and districts subordinate thereto ; and the said charter farther grants and ordains the governor and council to be justices of the peace, and have power to act as such, and to hold quarter sessions of the peace, and also to be commissioners of oyer and terminer, and general gaol delivery, for trying and punishing all offences (high treason only excepted) committed within the Bengal's jurisdiction ; the said charter farther grants, that the said mayor's court shall have power to grant probate of wills and letters of administration.

Although this court cannot legally issue process beyond the bounds of Calcutta, or its subordinate factories, yet their process hath been issued to and executed in all parts of Bengal, under special order of the governor and council, granted or refused at their discretion, and that in all these cases the process was sent to one of the company's servants ; the criminal jurisdiction of the sessions to have the same extent as the mayor's court, and native, were sent from every part of the country to be tried in that court ; and all Europeans were brought in the same manner from any part of the country, except from the factories belonging to other European nations.

It appeared to the committee appointed by the house of commons, that the judges of these courts are justly sensible of their own deficiency of knowledge in the laws of England, and that therefore they, as well as the president and council, have frequently applied to the court of directors, to lay particular points, respecting their jurisdiction, before council, and to transmit the opinions of such counsel, to be the guide of their conduct. Some instances of this kind have been laid before the committee, upon doubts respecting their ecclesiastical, and also their criminal jurisdiction ; particularly whether the charter allows them to take cognizance of murders, robberies, and other crimes committed by Europeans, not immediately under the company's flag. There were several persons in confinement committed beyond the limits prescribed in the charter of justice, whose trial was prevented from doubts arising with respect to the powers conveyed by the charters.

Whatever doubts have been entertained in Bengal, on this subject, it is clear by the very terms of the charter of justice, that the jurisdiction of the court of oyer and terminer and goal delivery, is restrained to offences committed within the town or district of Calcutta and its subordinate factories : the consequence of this, in the present situation of Bengal, is, that there are many of his majesty's subjects, residing in Bengal, neither under the protection or controul of the laws of England, nor amenable to the criminal judicatures of the country. Mr. Withal had laid before the court of directors a petition, in which he complained of having been dismissed from his office,

fice, as attorney of the mayor's court at Calcutta; by an arbitrary and illegal proceeding of that court, without any regular complaint, without any sufficient allegation, without evidence upon oath, and without having had sufficient time to make his defence; and also that the order of dismission, besides finding him guilty of misconduct in a particular cause depending before the court, contained a general charge of his having frequently merited the general reprehension of the court, but without specifying any particular facts.

The court of directors having taken the opinion of their counsel upon this case, expressed their disapprobation of the general charge contained in the order against Mr. Wilthall, without any allegation of facts to support it, as highly improper and unbecoming a court of justice, and they recommended it to the governor and council to admit Mr. Wilthall's appeal, and to act therein as justice should require. The committee begged leave to submit to the consideration of the house some very singular circumstances, which seemed materially to affect their independence and their efficacy.

Although the mayor's court was intended not only to try causes between party and party, on the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery to punish the crimes of private individuals, but the former also to try causes in which the company itself is a party, and the latter to punish the offences of any of their servants, yet the judges of these courts were removal from these offices, by virtue of which, they exercised their judicial functions at the pleasure of the president and council, and that such sentence could not be reviewed, but by the re-

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dious mode of an appeal to his majesty in council: Courts thus considered, could not be considered as free and independent judicatures, in any case where the company's a party, or where any member of the council is prosecuted on a criminal charge.

Although these courts, at least, with respect to the Europeans, were bound to judge according to the laws of England, yet the judges of those courts were not required to be, and, in fact, have never been persons educated in the knowledge of those laws by which they must decide; but any of the junior servants of the company were selected for these important trusts, affecting the property, the liberty, and the lives of his Majesty's subjects in Bengal.

The committee stated to the house such provisions as have been made by law, for the trial and punishment in England, of offences committed by the company's servants in Bengal, to specify in what instances those provisions have been attempted to be carried into execution, with the result of the proceedings, and submitted to the consideration of the house, some circumstances which appeared greatly to obstruct the efficacy of any remedy in England, as the law on that subject is now constituted.

By an act, passed in the 24th of George II. entitled, "An act for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in the service of the united company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies; and for the punishment of offences committed in the East Indies, or at the island of St. Helena," it is provided, "That if any of the company's presidents or

council,

veral months after he had quitted that presidency : and also, against Mr. Verelst, in respect of the commission of the laid revenues received by him when he was president at Fort William ; and to prosecute several other persons, who had been in the company's service, on whom the company were advised they had demands on account of the Mhatoota-tax in Bengal ; that three bills in equity, of great length and nicety, had been prepared against a great number of defendants respecting the trade and duties on salt, and against lord Clive and Mr. Verelst separately, to recover the company's demands respecting the commission on the revenues ; that those bills had been perused and signed by the company's counsel, and that fair copies had been laid before Mr. Attorney-General, for his approbation before they were filed.

That a bill was now likewise before the company's counsel against a great number of persons for recovery of several large sums of money received by them under colour of the Mhatoota tax, which were to be filed with all possible expedition, as soon as it should have been approved of by the company's counsel, and Mr. Attorney-General ; before whom that bill was also directed to be laid.

The committee examined several of the witnesses, who were best acquainted with Bengal, " Whether it was possible to bring natives from that country to England, to give their testimony in any prosecution or suits to be commenced here, for matters done on arising in Bengal ; and were informed, by all the witnesses who spoke to this point, that though they knew no obstruction to the bringing over Mahometan witnesses, but the length and expences

pences of the voyage, they consider'd it as absolutely impossible to bring over any witness of the Gentoo religion ; it being one of the established principles of that religion, that water is sacred, and that to defile that aliment (which according to their notion is done by many unavoidable acts) is a profanation, for which any person so offending would forfeit his cast ; that if any Gentoo could be prevailed on to cross the sea, in order to come to England, they must necessarily be persons destitute of those principles, which they are taught by their profession to revere, and therefore unworthy to receive credit as witnesses.

In many cases, which might be proper subjects of prosecution in this country, the testimony of British subjects, or other Europeans residing at Bengal may be necessary, and the difficulty and expence of bringing over those or any witnesses, seemed an almost unsurmountable obstruction to the use and efficacy of the statutes, allowing prosecutions in England for offences committed in India ; and the same circumstance equally obstructs the attainment of justice by civil action of any nature, for any injury received or demand arising in that country.

The power exercised by the general court, of putting a stop to prosecutions ordered by the court of directors, may tend greatly to defeat the efficacy of the statutes ; as the person charg'd, especially where he is or has been in any considerable station in the company's service, may have it in his power, by the management of his friends, to contrive at some time or other, by a majority of a general court

to put a stop to the intended or depending prosecution.

In regard to the rate of interest allowed in the courts of that country, in cases of mercantile debts, the rate was one per cent. per month, considered as the current interest of the country in mercantile transactions, amongst men of probity and reputation; voluntary agreements for a much higher rate of interest are often made, even to three per cent. per month, where the occasion has been urgent, and the loan for a short time, and attended with risk.

The usual interest given by the company is nine per cent. per annum, by Europeans; in accounts with each other, ten per cent. and by the natives twelve per cent. the cutcherry did not allow beyond that rate. It was usual for the Seats and other bankers at Murshadabad to furnish the zemindars when pressed for money to pay their rents to government, at the rate of three per cent. per month. The rate of this interest is otherwise never given but in cases of great emergency; however, that authorized by custom having amounted to the most exorbitant usury, the following rates are now established to be received and paid, as well for past debts as on future loans of money, viz. on sums not exceeding one hundred rupees principal, an interest of three rupees two annes per cent. per month, or half an anne in the rupee: on sums above one hundred rupees, principal, an interest of two rupees per cent. per month; the principal and interest to be discharged, according to the condition of the bond; and all compound, interest, arising from an immediate adjustment of accounts, to be

be deemed unlawful and prohibited, when a debt is sued for upon a bond, which shall be formed to specify a higher interest than the established rates the interest shall be wholly forfeited to the debtor, and the principal only recoverable, and all attempts to elude this law by deduction from the original loan, under whatever denomination, shall be punished by a forfeiture of one moiety of the amount of the bond to the government, and the other half to the debtor.

The said regulations point at such extortions, that though the family of the Seats and others, have taken for money lent by them three and a half per cent. per month, obligations to pay five per cent. have been there exacted and the borrower compelled to agree to pay the same; because, those who had been accustomed to lend at a lower rate, now refused to supply them with money, alledging, that if they attempted to recover their loan from the zemindars, such attempt would be frustrated by the power of the person lending at five per cent.

Even after an engagement to pay five per cent. the debtors have actually been obliged to pay fourteen per cent. which enormous abuse is evidently inconsistent with the prosperity of the country, and highly detrimental to the revenue received by the company. Lord Clive during his presidency never attempted to reform so many glaring abuses, and most of his new regulations rather encouraged than discountenanced the system of venality, corruption, usury and oppression which has of late years brought the company on the brink of ruin. The measures he had pursued with respect

to the politics of the country, and his pretended discoveries of the infidelity, rapaciousness and mis-behaviour of divers servants of the company, at the head of administration in the Bengal provinces, before his lordship's last presidency, were only calculated to direct the company's attention by the retrospect of past transactions, in order that himself and his committee might escape the blame and reproach their present innovations justly deserved. None of their plans promised stability for a peaceable possession of the new acquisitions.

They succeeded as far as to keep the directors in the dark, who approved his lordship's conduct, so as to think his presence in Bengal essentially necessary, to accomplish a thorough reformation, earnestly requesting that he would continue another season in Bengal, to see the effect of his regulations; they looked upon the war with Sujah Dowlah ended conformable to their wishes; as they had been told the power of that Soubah was the strongest barrier they could have, against the invasions of the northern powers, and of the Marattas which had laid them so long desolate, without considering that this faithless ally and ambitious neighbour would take the first favourable opportunity of re-assuming his former independency, by an alliance with the very people, the company were in dread of, to secure the possession of his dominions, with a view to enlarge them. The measures of Mr. Vanstirat and his council were animadverted upon as impolitic and injudicious: had the king been left in possession of Sujah Dowlah's country, this accession of power would have added weight to his friendship; and gratitude for the company's eminent services

in maintaining him in this new sovereignty, would have attached him strongly to their interest, without the apprehension of waging for the future a war at that immense distance, or its being brought down again to their frontiers ; nothing could so effectually have restored the country to its former flourishing state, and the reputation of the company, than reinstating the Mogul to a state, that would have enabled his majesty to assist his benefactors, without having the power to hurt them ; indeed Sujah Dowlah, the only Scubah in Indostan who is likely to inspire him with hostile designs, to aggrandize himself by the support he might afford him, has already shewn his restless spirit and aspiring views, by embroiling the company with the chiefs of the Rohillas, against whom he joined lately his forces, tired himself of formidable neighbours. The revenue agreed by his lordship to be paid to the mogul, was not adequate to the respect he professed for the royal blood, and was but a poor acknowledgment of his right. The princes of Indostan are not dupes of this pretended moderation and have been convinced since, that any breach of treaty will ever have the sanction of their servants, as the commanders of their forces looked beyond the Bengal provinces for plunder and rapine ; the article in the treaty with Sujah Dowlah is not confined solely to the company's trade, as ordered by the directors, who mean only to claim this privilege, if his dominions produced any goods fit for the European markets, or were made the means of extending their trade in the woollen manufacture, or any other European goods, this will produce new complaints and discontents.

Ever since the company has obtained the dewanee, the barrier of the country government has been entirely broke down, and every Englishman throughout the country has been armed with an authority that owned no superior amongst the Indian powers, and exercised an intolerable tyranny and oppression on the helpless natives, who know not whom to obey.

The system of lord Clive and the gentlemen of the select committee in depriving the Subah of a revenue of almost two millions sterlinc, was to enrich his friends and dependants, with the treasure and property of an injured and degraded prince, to leave him at their mercy, under pretence, that he had adopted principles detrimental to the company's interest.

Though the noble president and the select committee had artfully suggested to the company, that Mr. Vansittart and his council had been directly undermining the whole fabric, whilst the company were sinking under the burthen of the war, and their servants enriching themselves from those very funds that ought to have supported it; they are no principals in the advantages of it, but only liable to its charges and dangers in the province of Burdwan, the resident and his council take the same annual stipend of 80,000 rupees per annum, from the Rajah in addition to the company's salary; this pernicious principle has been even carried further, even to the sharing with the Rajah of all he collected beyond the stipulated land revenue, overlooking the company's right, to whom properly every thing belonged that was not necessary for the Rajah's support. Thus the company's servants have endeavoured

youred to gloss over the crime of their proceedings since the nabob's of Bengal have been reduced to a scanty pension, and have been grasping the greatest share of the nabob's revenues, which was not allotted to the company.

To render their acquisitions as permanent as human wisdom could make them, required more justice and simplicity in the execution. The office and power of the king's dewan was to collect all the revenues, and after defraying the expences of the army, and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the nizamut, to remit the remainder to Dehly ; the principal servants appointed to superintend this collection, have been guilty of the most notorious breach of trust, in concealing the teal value of the country, to cheat their employers. Their residents at the durbar have exercised that important office, to the manifest prejudice of the company, and to their own discredit, by supposed deficiencies in the payments of some particular province, rajah or zemindar, attested by these they employed in this collection.

The resident at the Durbar being constantly on the spot, could not be long a stranger to the abuses of government, and though he was armed with power to remedy them, he found his interest in countenancing the encroachments of rapacious agents, and the oppression of the natives ; since the office of resident was become of so much importance, the noble president took upon himself to regulate it without controul.

How ignorant were the court of directors of India officers, during his lordship's presidency, and how little apprehensive they were of the pernicious

consequences of the measures he had pursued, appears by complimenting the noble lord in one of their letters, on the penetration on which his lordship discerned the true interest of the company, in every branch ; the rapidity with which he restored order, peace and tranquility, and the unbiassed integrity that had governed all his transactions. They congratulated him on being the happy instrument of such extensive blessings to the Bengal provinces, not foreseeing that they should when better informed lament their imprudence and folly, for having delegated all their civil and military power to a man whose transactions became afterwards the subject of parliamentary enquiry and animadversion.

They saw the deplorable state to which their affairs have been since reduced, from the corruption and avarice of his creatures and the universal depravity of manners, after their example, throughout the settlement. After his lordship's boasted peace, great part of the company's capital was sunk into useless and most extensive establishments ; the funds that ought to have been destined for improving their acquisitions, were perverted to the baneful purposes of serving for the future corruption, tyranny, and the most iniquitous proceedings from due punishment. The lasting advantages that might have been obtained from a successful war, were totally neglected ; the king still unable to maintain himself, may be driven back on the Bengal provinces, or if he was successful through our assistance in a new war, the venality or ambition of the company's servants, may urge them on to march their forces with him to Delli. The quick progress

gress of private fortunes acquired by his friends and adherents, has alarmed the very senate, where they purchased seats with the spoils of injured and oppressed millions. The monopolies practised in the inland trade, exhibited such scene of misery as never was seen in India, or other country ; and his lordship could not prevail with all his interest and eloquence on the directors, after the fatal experience they had of the enormous abuses, committed in this trade, to approve it, even in the specious plan laid down in the committee proceedings. His lordship having been requested by the court of directors and Mr. Vansittart to deliver into their hands some papers relative to this gentleman's conduct, when president of Bengal, wrote the following letter to the court, dated Berkley-Square, 14th January, 1775.

Gentlemen,

" I conceived that my answer to your secretary's letter of the 1st instant, might have induced you to reflect, that if there were any materials in my possession, which did not appear in the public proceedings of my government, they were unnecessary, if not improper for public communication ; but, I find that my letter instead of having such effect, has almost produced a requisition of some papers, which you have been informed, have been in my hands, containing proofs of Mr. Vansittart's having received seven lacs of rupees for making the Mongheer treaty, and you have thought proper, thus to press this matter, I will not decline to acknowledge that I am possessed of some informations upon

upon that subject; I must at the same time acquaint you, that I transmitted from Bengal, to Mr. Dudley, your chairman, for not entering into every public enquiry directed in your letters, by the Cambden, and now I enclose a copy of such part of my advices to him for your observation. I have to add, that upon my arrival in England, I communicated to your chairman, Mr. Rous, the informations alluded to After such proceedings on my part, I might have hoped, that if at any time these private materials become necessary to the court of directors, on grounds of public utility, the application for them would have been in a private request from the chairman, with whom I have been most ready to co operate, and whose representation of a real necessity of producing the particulars, would have had weight with me. I will hope, that upon the consideration of what I have now laid before you, no farther exposition will be thought necessary from me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

/

(Signed) Clive."

His lordship, notwithstanding the hatred he bore to Mr. Vansittart, was afraid that such a precedent might cause an inquiry into his own conduct, this was the reason of the moderation he affected to shew towards the man, whose administration he had so often vilified, as will be seen in the extract of a letter to George Dudley, Esq, dated Calcutta 8th September 1766. " After having explained myself so fully upon this subject, give me leave to expostu-

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late with you as chairman, in that friendly manner, and on that intimate footing which I would always wish to be with the present court of directors. After a general court of proprietors had reposed so much confidence in me, and that confidence was so strongly confirmed by a letter which I received from the court of directors ; where was the necessity of pointing out to me so many disagreeable and odious enquiries ? Could not the directors have postponed their sentiments until they had seen in what manner I had conducted myself : could a court of directors, for whom I had so high an esteem, imagine that I would leave ought undone or uninquired into, that would tend to their honour, or the advantage of the company ? certainly I would not ; my own reputation was too much at stake, to admit a thought to the contrary.

You may be assured, it gives me pain to be reduced to the necessity of declining obedience to any of your orders ; but retrospection into actions which have been buried in oblivion for so many years, which if enquired into, may produce discoveries which cannot bear the light ; which can be no advantage to the company, but may bring disgrace into the nation ; and at the same time blast the reputation of great and good families, who will suffer for the iniquity of individuals ; want only to occasion so much uneasiness is what I cannot reconcile to those principles of humanity by which I have always been actuated ; neither do I think it sound policy to inquire into the proceedings of that committee, which placed Cossim Ally Kawn upon the Musnud : the bad actions of servants frequently reflect dishonour upon their masters ;

masters. The present flourishing condition of our East-India company cannot but occasion much national jealousy ; and proceedings of such a nature, made public, might occasion a parliamentary enquiry, and that enquiries might extend to the India-house itself ; upon reflection, I am persuaded the directors will approve of my conduct, in discouraging the examination, in the manner pointed out in their general letter of lord Cambden."

The following letter is in consequence of the repeated requisition of the court of directors on the same subject.

Pezenas, 20th April, 1768.

Gentlemen,

" I have received another letter from your secretary, demanding a second time, some papers relative to Mr. Vansittart's conduct in Bengal. Although I still persevere in thinking you have no manner of right to require the papers from me ; yet as Mr. Vansittart himself seems desirous, by this letter to me, (copy of which he has inclosed to you) that these papers should be sent, I have given my attorneyes instructions accordingly to deliver them into your hands, to be used as to you in your discretion shall seem meet, if he still persists in the same way of thinking.

I have the honour to be, &c.

" (Signed) Clive."

Paris,

Paris, 19th June, 1768.

Gentlemen,

" In conformity with Mr. Vansittart's request, dated the 13th instant, and received by the last post, I transmit to you the depositions of Bullakidafs, and Shey Hey Dayat Alla, with respect to that gentleman. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) John Walsh."

Shey Hey Dayat Alla deposeth,

" That in the year 1762, in the month of December, when Mr. Henry Vansittart, accompanied by several other gentlemen, waited on the nabob Coffim Ally Kawn at Mongheer; he then acted in the office of treasurer under his excellency; and that in pursuance of the nabob's commands, he issued the sum of two lacks at four or five different payments, for Mr. Vansittart: and that two ladies who were in company with the governor, went into the zenara, and received jewels."

This being a faithful translation from the Persian original, is attested this 18th day of January, by me,

W. H. Coru, sworn translator.

H. Verelst.

The deposition of Bollaakidafs, banker.

" In the year 1762, in the month of December, Mr. Henry Vansittart arrived at Mongheer, and had an interview with the nabob Coffim Ally Kawn: I was employed in negotiating bills for the

the said nabob, one or two days before the departure of Mr. Vansittart for Azimabad; his excellency retiring with me in a private apartment, signified to me his pleasure, that I should transmit the sum of five lacks of rupees to Mr. Henry Vansittart, in Calcutta; in consequence of these his excellency's instructions, I wrote an order to my gomastah in the factory of Hughly, to pay the aforesaid amount into the hands of Mr. Vansittart; afterwards, on the return of this gentleman to Calcutta, the gomastah caused the money aforesaid to be delivered to him, and gave me information thereof, which I made report of to his excellency the nabob. The strict truth of this transaction I have faithfully related, written this first day of January, in the eighth year of his Majesty's auspicious reign."

The above being a faithful translation from the Persian original, as attested this 18th day of January, 1767, by me,

W. H. Coke, sworn translator.

The hand writing of Ballaakidass, Calcutta
the 19th of January, 1767, sworn before me,

H. Verelst:

This requisition from the court of directors obliged Mr. Vansittart to write to them the following letter, dated London, 15th September, 1768:

Honourable Sirs,

"I have received from your secretary the copies of two papers, delivered to the court by Lord Clive;

Clive, one being a declaration of Boolaakidas; setting forth that a day or two before I took leave of Meer Cossim, at Mongheer, he received orders to pay me five lacs of rupees; the other an information of Sheik Hedagat Calla, importing, that he has the same order, paid me two lacs of rupees; and that the ladies who were with me visited the nabob's ladies and received a present of jewels

Nobody is better acquainted with the customs of that country than lord Clive, who has brought these informations before the court. I appeal to his own candour, whether upon a visit of this sort, presents are not customary, and in a manner indispensable.

But I do not mean to recriminate upon his lordship; much less upon any ladies, who had the honour of being in company with him on such occasions. I shall content myself with defending my own character; and shall expose to you very fairly, the principles upon which I acted at all times in your service.

From the earliest date of the company's settlements, presents from the people of the country made a part of the benefit of your governments; and this advantage were used in proportion to the extent of your connections, until by a fresh covenant, in the year 1765, you thought fit to put a stop to it.

In such circumstances, I hope some praise is due to those servants who made the most moderate use of the opportunities, their situation presented to them; who preferred always the company's interest to their private emolument; who never di-

rectly nor indirectly sought for presents ; but on the contrary, refused as such as could in any manner affect or retard payments due to the company, or lay the person offering it under any distress or inconvenience.

Let lord Clive say, if any inhabitant of Bengal has a complaint to make against me upon this head, or indeed upon any other : as to Boolaakidass and Sheik Hedagat Calla, whose name appear to the informations laid before you, by his lordship, it will be seen, that the former complains only of the authority by which he was forced to give that information ; and as to the latter, I do not even recollect his name ; nor did I to my knowledge, ever transact any business with him. All Meer Coffim's payments were made, either by Boolaakidass, Caja Petras, or the Roy Royan, or in assignments payable to the chiefs at Patna and Coffim Bazar.

In these different ways, I received all that was due to the company ; I received likewise several sums upon account of lord Clive, and other gentlemen, for the remaining part of a present stipulated in the year 1757, and upon various other accounts ; but I do not remember that Sheik Hedagat Calla, was employed upon any of these occasions. Soon after Boolaakidass had given to lord Clive the writing which he has laid before the court, he wrote me a letter to acquaint me, that in compliance with his lordship's commands, he had signed a paper of which he sent me a copy.

Herewith I have transmitted the original letter, and a translation ; and can only lament, that, at a time

a time when the degrees of censure and of praise were measured upon the scale of his lordship's good pleasure, it was my misfortune to have him take so determined a part against me.

But supposing for a moment, that the informations were true to their full extent ; which however I do not admit, what do they import ? that the chief of the country having fulfilled all his engagements with the company, paid off the arrears of his predecessor's troops, and brought his finances into good order, made presents of money and jewels to his friends in the customary manner.

But it seems, by your letter to lord Clive, of the 6th January last, that his lordship had represented the presents alluded to in the informations in question, as a consideration given by Meer Coffim, for the treaty of Mongheer. If the regulations contained in that treaty had been asked or proposed by Meer Coffim, or had conveyed any benefit or advantage to his government, there might have been some shew of reason for his lordship's unfriendly construction, but when it is seen that the object of those regulations was to give the English traders a decided right to partake in the inland trade upon the most moderate terms, a duty of nine per cent. upon a trade which the company have since rated at forty per cent. and that Meer Coffim consented only, as he declares in many letters, for the sake of preserving good harmony with the English ; when both the parties concerned in the treaty, regarded it as an acquisition to the English traders, and a concession on the part of the nabob ; in such a case, for what

should

should he give a consideration ? shall he who gives up his pretensions, give money likewise to induce the other party to accept his resignation ? such a supposition is so contrary to reason, that the attempt to propagate it could proceed only from the most ungenerous design to prejudice you in your opinion ; but, I flatter myself without effect : for you are so far from regarding the articles proposed at Mongheer, as a regulation in favour of the nabob, that you call it " a treaty exacted by force to obtain a sanction for a trade to enrich ourselves," the nabob could be little inclined to give presents for such a consideration, it might rather have induced him to omit the usual civilities.

I have never endeavoured, gentlemen, to make you, or the world believe, that I passed through the government of Bengal, without receiving presents, at a time when there was no law against it, and so many great examples for it ; but this I have said, and with the strictest truth, that I never received one that could prejudice the company, or distress the country, or put back even for a day, any public or private payments depending for others. Whenever any thing of this sort interfered, and in short, when ever the least objection could arise, I constantly refused all presents ; and refused them absolutely and without reservation. It is well known, that upon this principle I rejected all Meer Cossim's offers as presents in the first part of his government. You have an instance of this in the consultations from Bengal, January 1761 ; which though the sum in question was not very large, may still serve to shew, that I had a certain rule of conduct, in which I persevered invariably ; I might otherwise have been tempted by

by the offer which Meer Jaffier pressed on me, by means of Nundcoomer, and Juggat Chund, just before I left Bengal.

They told me, that Meer Jaffier insisted on my receiving a present of five lacs for the charges of my voyage. I was not then restrained by any orders at covenants ; but the state of the nabob's circumstances was sufficient in my opinion, to forbid it ; and accordingly my answer was, " That being sensible of the many engagements he had to fulfil, I would by no means add to his distress." This fact is mentioned by Juggut Chund in his examination, which is before the court, and partly also by Nobkisson, who, as he knew such an offer was made me, must also have known the result, although he chooses to be as short as possible upon it.

Here, gentlemen, I shall leave the matter to your candid and impartial consideration, persuaded that the more you examine my conduct, the more you will be convinced, that the love of money was never my ruling passion : if it had, my opportunities were many, and I could have gratified it to as great an extent as any of my predecessors. I speak this without envy or resentment ; but I really think, his lordship might have spared his reproaches upon this score.

I am with respect,

Honourable sirs,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Henry Vansittart,

Letter from Boolaakidafs to Mr. Vansittart, dated
the 20th of Shawbaun, in the eighth year of the
reign.

" You are well acquainted with my situation : late-
ly lord Clive sent for me, and said, " The nabob
Cossim Ally Kawn gave Mr. Vansittart five lacks
of rupees through your hands, is it not true ? " I an-
swered, " It is true, but in that amount was a bill
for the expences of Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna,
and there was likewise included the price of the
jewels, deposited by the nabob Jaffier Ally Kawn.
This wasthe state of the matter. Lord Clive then
said, " Write, and give me a declaration under
your hand of five lacks of rupees." Being without
remedy, I wrote it conformable to his order, and
gave it him ; and I have sent you here with an
excellent copy of it for your perusal ; as you are my
only friend and protector, I thought fit to acquaint
you with the matter."

Had my lord Clive established a general peace,
and affected a cordial and lasting friendship with
the country powers, he might indeed have justly
boasted of the important services he had done to
the company, during his last memorable presidency.

The court of directors were highly blameable for
giving his lordship carta-blanche, as appears by
their own letters, in which they said, expressly,
they apprehended any particular instructions to
the noble president would be unnecessary. They
were perfectly happy in the assurances, that his
lordship's perfect acquaintance with, and zeal for
the company's interest, would enable him to fulfill
their

their most sanguine wishes. He had been empowered to stipulate such conditions, and to form such connections with the country powers, and to pursue such means as he should think proper.

His lordship, far from exerting his utmost endeavours to conciliate the affection of the country powers; and to remove the jealousy they had conceived of the company's aggrandizement, made a temporary cessation of arms, whilst the seeds of future wars remain, as the company has since begun hostilities to maintain their influence by force of arms, so destructive of that commercial spirit which they ought to promote. The event has proved, that it was not so much the security in carrying on a free trade, beneficial to them and the natives, that they aimed at, than conquest and dominion : instead of being moderate and equitable in their demands, they have shewn lately by the infraction of their treaties, that they are yet desirous to enlarge their territorial possessions. Sujah Dowlah was reinstated in his dominions, with such limitations as his high spirit can never brook, and imply a suspicion of his sincerity. By annexing such contiguous lands and districts as were found necessary to the convenience and support of the settlements, lord Clive gave the vizier a just cause to future contentions, as he would no doubt, think himself oppressed by that military power, which was to protect the company's commerce. Sujah Dowlah could not surrender Cossim Ally, Sombre, and the deserters, or put them to death, without deeply affecting his own honour ; and this point his lordship was obliged to give up, as it could not be affected without violence to the nabob's inclinations.

No provision was made for the security of the king's person and dignity. In fact, all his measures tended to lay the foundation of fresh discontents. It was not to be supposed that he would more strictly adhere to the laws prescribed by honour and justice, than the conquerors, though he might for a time dissemble, according to the dictates of good policy. Sparks of resentment lie concealed in his breast, ready to be kindled into a flame, by the first gust of passion or ambition.

Mr. Sykes being appointed resident at the durbar, it was recommended to him to support there, with all the influence of the committee, the new regulations they had made for the administration of the government. Doolubram had objected to that balance of power, and partition of authority, which they had judged necessary to the security of the present establishment; he claimed to himself the right of nominating the officers of the collections. They kept therefore a watchful eye over this minister, and attempted to check his aspiring views, threatening him with their displeasure, in excluding him from the proportion of power he enjoyed.

It was not surprising that the condition of the treasury was low as represented, since the company's servants rapaciousness and avarice, might have exhausted the mines of Potosi.

Mr. Sykes was strongly recommended to the court of directors for having exerted his utmost diligence in procuring an exact estimate of the amount of the revenues of the nabob's dominions; of which the company were become proprietors; but the books of the sircar were so much behind;

[437]

so many balances were out-standing, and such negligence appeared in the collection of the revenues for some years past, owing to the constant disturbances and frequent revolutions in the country, which prevented any regular connections from being made; that nothing on this subject could be stated with precision and certainty. Notwithstanding the acquisition of the dewannee and the agreement with the nabob, was to turn out a prodigious increase of the company's revenue; this had a contrary effect.

The noble president and his committee peremptorily refused to pay the donation of the nabob to the navy, under pretence, that it was not consistent with their late engagements with him to take upon them to pay so large a demand out of the company's revenues, or to insist on the nabob's paying it but of his limited stipend. This was a despicable shift; moreover they disputed the validity of this donation as involuntary, and obtained from Meer Jaffier, by dint of solicitations, and other means which never had his entire approbation. It was a capital fault in the noble president and his committee, to precipitate the conclusion of a treaty with Sujah Dowlah, as they lost the most glorious opportunity that could ever happen, of settling matters upon that solid and advantageous footing for the company, which no temporary invasion could endanger. They thought the only security for their commerce and territorial possessions, was to overawe the very nabob they were bound by treaty to support; from that fundamental error, which created new jealousies and discontents amongst the country powers, and European nations, have sprung

the innumerable evils which have brought the company to its present precarious and unsettled state.

The committee appointed by the house of commons found, that an alteration was attempted to be made upon the ancient establishment of duties, by the regulations which were settled between Cossim Ally Kawn and Mr. Vansittart, at Mongheer; whereby it was stipulated, that the company's servants should in time to come pay nine per cent. on the Rowana price of salt: but this treaty having been rejected by the council, as having been concluded without sufficient authority on the part of Mr. Vansittart; and also as subjecting the English and their servants, upon all disputes, to the jurisdiction of the nabob's officers, the old regulations as to duties were continued, and the English, by the treaty made with Meer Jaffier, were placed upon a footing with the most favoured amongst the natives; viz. to pay the duties of two and half per cent. on salt.

The court of directors ordered, that a final and effectual end should be forthwith put to the inland trade in salt, beetle nut and tobacco, and in all other articles whatsoever produced and consumed in the country; and that all European and other agents, who had been concerned in such trade, should be immediately ordered down to Calcutta, and not suffered to return or be replaced as such by, any other person. The English began to trade in salt the end of the year 1757, and it soon became general. The salt society, which afterwards took place had been originally proposed at sea by lord Clive, during his passage to India. In the beginning of June 1765, a few days after the arrival of

Mr:

Mr. Verelst from Chittagong, a private partnership was formed, in the names of lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Verelst and Mr. Sykes, for purchasing large quantities of salt, then in the hands of private merchants. Mr. Verelst having declined to answer a question put to him upon that subject, the committee were prevented stating the extent of this transaction so fully as they might otherwise have done. Mr. Verelst alledged for his refusal, that the court of directors had threatened him with a prosecution upon salt concerns. On his return from Chittagong to Calcutta, he made some purchases of salt, of the produce of some former years, from several European gentlemen, and some few Armenian and black merchants. At the time he was making these purchases, on his own account, lord Clive mentioned to him a desire of forming some provision for the gentlemen he had brought out with him, and asked his opinion in what manner it could be done; Mr. Verelst, told his lordship he knew of no advantage but what resulted from trade; he mentioned the purchases he had made, adding, he could extend them, if his lordship thought proper; the purchases were accordingly extended with his assent, Mr. Sumner, and Mr. Sykes taking a part of the concern; this partnership was formed about the beginning of June following, in the names of lord Clive, Messrs. Sumner, Sykes and Verelst, each one quarter part; and all the purchases on account of the partnership were made in the month of June; lord Clive advanced his proportion, and pretended not to be concerned on his own account; but merely for the advantage of the three gentlemen, his lordship brought

brought out with him. Salt purchased before the establishment of the society of trade, was not liable to any duty except $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, to the country government; it paid none to the company.

The largest quantity was purchased by Mr. Johnstone. The gentlemen whom Lord Clive declared, he intended to benefit by this monopoly, were Mr. Strachey, Mr. Maskelyne, and Mr. Ingham, the surgeon, who had accompanied him to India. His lordship afterwards remonstrated with the court of directors, against the opening of the salt trade, and taking only a duty of ten rupees per hundred maunds. They ordered, that the duty should be so fixed as to produce a revenue of 100,000 l. at least, and not to exceed 120,000 l. and in consideration of having confined the trade of their servants to articles of import and export, they ordered a commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the neat territorial revenues to be distributed amongst their principal servants in the proportions therein named. After the prohibitions of the inland trade in salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, the court of directors laid open the said trade to all persons, as well Europeans as natives.

The grounds upon which the society of trade was established, opened the widest field for oppression and rapaciousness: it proved a new source of clamours and discontents; as the natives were cruelly sacrificed to the interested views of a few individuals, this monopoly was held in the most odious light, as a most intolerable grievance.

The article of salt, prior to 1756, was farmed at from 25 to 35,000 l. per annum; the revolution

tion in 1756, extended the views of the company's servants to advantages beyond what they had hitherto derived from a trade confined to imports and exports ; and from that period they began to participate in the benefit of an inland commerce, and some, even in those early days of the company's influence, entertained hopes, of a right founded upon their phirnaunds, to an exemption of duties upon salt. It was not, however, till after Meer Cossim's accession in 1760, that such claim was publickly avowed ; then it was that the company acquired possession of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, on which, and the company's Calcutta lands, near two-thirds of the whole quantity of salt for the consumption of Bengal is manufactured. By possessing these countries, the English considered themselves now the proprietors, and became the principal dealers in that article ; some were content with the profit arising from salt in Calcutta, whilst others launched out farther to seek the profits through the country. The magnitude of this branch of trade, and the manner in which it was now carried on, became the subject of contest and dispute between Meer Cossim and the presidency of Bengal.

On Meer Jaffier's re-instatement to the government in 1763, the English influence with respect to the manufacture of salt, by the possession of those countries, continued in full force ; and our uncontested right to trade in salt on paying 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty, was first established ; the natives being still subject to a duty of 7 per cent. How far this distinction was injurious to the natives, is easy to conceive : the proprietors of the India stock,

as well as the directors, considered it as a grant too partial in itself, and which they apprehended might involve the company in fresh disputes with the country government. Lord Clive being appointed president of Bengal, in 1764, the inland trade was then considered by, I believe, almost every proprietor, as one of the great sources of contention with the country government. It therefore became the subject of serious debate at repeated general courts; by some it was recommended to restrain the servants as formerly to the usual articles of import and export; others foresaw the difficulties of inducing men under the circumstances of power and influence, quietly to relinquish advantages they had long enjoyed, unless some adequate equivalent was proposed. Several persons proposed the following motion: "That it be recommended to the court of directors, to give instructions to the presidency of Bengal, to settle such regulations in carrying on the trade in salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, as shall prove most advantageous to this company, without prejudicing the just rights of the nabob of the provinces, and oppressing the natives; and that such regulations be transmitted home to the court of directors by the first opportunity, with every information which can enable them to determine on so important a subject.

This notion implied a total suspension of at least two years of any regulations; the forming a plan in Bengal, which should be transmitted to England for the approbation of the court of directors before it was adopted, would have left this important branch of trade open so long; and it was evident, such delay would necessarily hazard further dis-

disputes with the country government, which it was the earnest desire of the court wholly to remove. The motion was opposed from a full conviction of the bad tendency of delaying the proposed regulations ; it was in consequence withdrawn, and the general court came to the following resolution.

"That it be recommended to the court of directors to reconsider the orders sent to Bengal, relative to the trade of the company's servants in salt, beetle-nut and tobacco ; and that they do give such directions for regulating the same, agreeably to the interest of the company and the subah, as to them may appear most prudent ; either by settling here at home the restrictions under which this trade ought to be carried on, or by referring it to the governor and council of Fort William, to regulate this important point in such a manner, as may prevent all future disputes between the subah and the company." By this resolution the directors expressly declared their inability to form a plan, destitute as they were of the necessary lights and informations. The servants, acted as if the court of directors had delegated to them an authority without controul ; self interest influenced the whole conduct of the select committee, as all their new institutions were calculated to bring advantages to themselves.

With respect to the plan adopted for the first year, for carrying on their joint trade, the natives were precluded from the contracts for the purchase of salt, so that the committee sought the ultimate profits either in the purchase, or the sale. Thus salt was brought at an advanced price to the hands

of the consumer, and to benefit the noble president and his friends. The quantity of salt made in Bengal, is scarcely equal to the consumption. It is imported from the coast of Coromandel and from Persia ; the quantities in general but small, and that from Persia principally used medicinally.

The ground duty upon the making of salt all over Bengal and Arica, was always extremely inconsiderable before the establishment of the regulations made by the various committees of the English council at Calcutta ; in so much, that a salt merchant making his salt at first hand in a great part of the salt countries, could have made, transported, and landed his salt in Calcutta, within the expence of twenty-five rupees per hundred maund. Before the establishment of this exclusive society, established by Lord Clive, Calcutta had so far become a general repository, and mart for salt that it was from thence transported to every part of the country, even to Luckypur and other places, much nearer to the salt grounds than Calcutta.

Lord Clive, in a letter to the court of directors, thinks himself entitled to their approbation, and congratulates himself on the success of his plan in relation to the important article of salt trade. The only doubt, said he, that arose with me was, whether the management of the trade of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, should be entrusted to Europeans, or to natives ; and although I acquiesced with the rest of the members of the secret committee, in having it carried on by the free-merchants, give me leave to assure you, my acquiescence proceeded rather from a principle of humanity than a conviction, that it was more for the interest

interest of the society. But as every day's experience demonstrates the impropriety of the present mode, it becomes my duty to explain to you my sentiments on that subject.

The original capital for carrying on this trade being twenty-four lack, which is speedily to be increased to thirty-two, and the salt being to be disposed of at so many different and distant parts of the country, gives me room for boundless expence; an astonishing number of boats must be provided, and kept in constant repair, and armies of seapoys must be maintained to protect them, as well as the agents at the several places of residence. These seapoys under the sanction of their master's names, will lay the whole country under contribution wherever they go; remonstrances and complaints without number, will be made by the country government, and the revenues in which you are more immediately affected, will fall short: these agents, besides drawing five per cent. upon the net sales, will build elegant houses for their convenience, and I verily believe, that 150,000l. will scarcely defray the extraordinary, and in my opinion, useless expence, by confining the sale of salt to Calcutta, D^rcca, and two or three other principal places where the salt is produced; all these inconveniences will be remedied; the company will receive as much, as well as the proprietors do upon the present plan; the immoderate charges of agents, boatmen, houses, boats, and seapoys, will be saved; the capital need be but half of what it is now, and consequently the interest of a large sum of money will not be lavished. But what weighs more with me than all the arguments hitherto advanced is,

that we shall avoid the odious imputation of monopoly : thousands of the natives will have profits out of this article, by purchasing it at two or three places only, and disposing of it afterwards all over the country : for we propose that no European, whatever shall have any further concern in it, &c.

Copy of the Imperial Mandate.

To all governors, officers and managers of our affairs, &c. in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar Orixá, Hugley, &c.

" In consequence of a decree of his most sacred and imperial majesty Shah, deceased, and former grants, the English company are exempted from all customs in all parts of our dominions, except the port of Surat, pay annually into the imperial treasury at Hughley 3000 rupees, as a tribute in lieu of customs, and hope that according to former grants, our royal mandate will be vouchsafed to them.

Our absolute and high command is passed, that you knowing well whatever goods and merchandise their agents may bring into, or carry out from the ports, borders and quarters of those provinces, either by land or by water, be exempt from duties, shall leave them to buy and sell at their free liberty, shall annually receive the established tribute, and upon no other account impede or interrupt them. Moreover, if any where the least article of their effects shall be made away with, you are to use all diligence in the recovery thereof; and shall deliver over the thieves to condign punishment,

ment, and the goods to the proper owner : . for then wheresoever they may set up a factory, and buy and sell goods and merchandize, you are to afford them help and support in all matters of contract, and with all justice and fairness, cause to be repaid unto their agents whatever demands they may have upon any merchant, weaver, or any other person ; and you are to allow no one to molest their agents ; or shall you stop boats hired by them, or of their own property, for lett or any other account whatever."

They also represented to our most sacred and excellent majesty as follows:

" In our provinces the petty officers insisted upon the original grant and attestation under seal of the Nadthim and Dewan of the province ; but transmitting the original grant into all parts being difficult, they hope that, accordingly credit may be given to copies under seal of a magistrate, and the original grant not be demanded, nor they interrupted for want of an attestation from the Nazim and Dewan.

Moreover, that in Calcutta the company have a factory : that the right of holding Calcutta, Satalute, Gobindpoor, &c. which they bought of the zemindars, have been a long time made over to them ; that they pay annually, as a tax for it 1195 rupees, six annas ; also, that there are thirty three villages at the taxation of 8121 rupees, eight annals, pertaining to the said districts ; they intreat that the right of holding the said districts be granted to them, the tax for which they pay annually into the royal treasury."

They farther entreat as follows :

From the reign of his most bounteous majesty, Shah, deceased, in the provincial treasuries, an ex-

change has been taken on their money coined at Cheanapatan; now seeing that the silver of their said money is of equal fineness with that of Surat, they our subjects though petitioners, suffer alas, and humbly beg that our imperial order may be passed, that they be not molested on account of the value of their coin, equal in goodness to that of Surat and other places.

Moreover, that if any of the company's servants indebted to them, should make their escape from any of their settlements, they may be sent back to the chief of their factory: also that they be not interrupted on account of the duties, or any other practices, from which the company's agents and officers may suffer inconveniency."

An order from the most high and authoritative court has been passed to the following effect, from the 5th year of this blessed reign, of the silver coined at Cheanapatan shall in fineness be like unto the coin of the royal harbour of Surat, there shall be no discount required on the exchange.

They have also represented, that in Bengal, Bahar and Orixa, the company have factories, and being desirous of creating factories in other places, humbly beg, that wheresoever they may set up a factory, forty legahs of ground will be granted to them, from the lands of the empire; moreover their vessels at sundry times, through storms of wind, are forced on shore on our ports, and are stranded, the governors of the ports injuriously make prize of the cargo, and in divers places inflict upon a fourth part of it; farther in the island of Bombay belonging to the English, the European coin is current, and may be struck into siccas

as at Cheanapatan. Ye are to protect these people, who hold factories in all parts of the empire, and extend their traffic even into the imperial camp, with their effects and vessels stranded or damaged, and supply them with all things necessary.

In the island of Bombay siccas shall be struck, and be current in like manner as the siccas in other parts of the kingdom of equal fineness with the coin current in our happy realms, shall pass for equal value.

The company have of late years complained of the real grievances and clogs to the fair trader; these removed, every merchant would cheerfully submit to the moderate duties they had directed to be levied. The hardships they meant, were the gross and iniquitous abuses that sprung from the power of dustucks, they being confined to their covenant servants, trade had been subjected to very heavy impositions; the chiefs at subordinates, gained full twenty per cent. upon the goods they provided the private trader, and often exclusive of commission: so that the merchant carried his goods to market at an advance, perhaps of 25 per cent. upon their value in Bengal: the black merchants applied to the junior servants, and for valuable considerations received their goods covered with their names: even a writer trades in this manner for many thousands, when at the same time he has no real credit for a hundred rupees: for the truth of these assertions (said the directors) we need only appeal to yourselves; this is the stream whence have flown numberless mischiefs, perhaps the capital cause of your late dreadful misfortunes: to fetter trade is contrary to all good policy, and we believe

believe Calcutta is the only colony where manu-
factories are locked up from the merchant ; we
therefore will have a reform in this important
branch if the abuses is evident ; the expence of that
firmaunt privilege for commerce is ruined by those
unfair practices ; the merchant can bear no more,
and fearful to speak out, demurs to our just duties,
and ascribes his inability to remote causes, the go-
vernment annually defrauded of immense duties,
and even their subjects property covered by the
company's name, must ever look upon us as a vile,
faithless people, strangers to honour and gratitude :
such are the consequences of the abuses of a privi-
lege obtained at a very heavy expence, for our
particular advantage. In the regulating of this
branch, we wish to maintain a respectable charac-
ter, secure the government from being injured, and
preserve to the fair trader such freedom and bene-
fits as are common to all our other settlements, and
which he certainly has a right to. It is not in our
power to obviate all difficulties, we only point out
the remedy to fix trade upon an equitable basis.
Perhaps the nabob may find it his interest to settle
for a certain annual sum upon the general trade,
which will be forming the commercial duties de-
pendant upon Calcutta. This scheme must, we
apprehend, answer every good purpose ; it removes
all causes of contention with the government ; du-
tucks will be abolished, the merchant will gladly
employ, and chearfully allow our servants a reason-
able commission, and interest for the provision of
his goods ; but if more than five per cent. com-
mission is charged, upon complaint he is to be re-
dressed, and the company will be reimbursed the
annual

annual sum they may pay for forming the general duties, by an additional import of two or more per cent. on the goods brought down by Europeans, and a larger duty on what may be imported by the Indians ; and if the amount should exceed the annual sum stipulated with the nabob, we are willing to add the surplus to our president's small emoluments : if this plan should take place, let us view the trader's situation ; he is relieved from the present exaction, from twenty to twenty-five per cent. He will pay five per cent. commission on his goods, two per cent. to the duties formed, and four per cent. customs ; and he will therefore export his goods from nine to fourteen per cent. advantage. If you can form a better scheme adopt it ; but remember at all events we shall expect the dustucks are put upon such a just footing, as to secure the government their duties, and enable the merchant to pay our customs.

The company's servants in answer to this plan said, " That the directors had not been sufficiently informed ; that is, continually met with, at most of the subordinate settlements and aurungs, in procuring a sufficiency of cloaths for the company's investment ; they alledged the absolute impossibility ever to fulfil their orders, as the gentlemen in the service are forbid to make any purchases for themselves, until the quantity required for the company is secured ; the gentlemen at Calcutta are not permitted to send Gomastahs to purchase at the aurung's dependent on any of the subordinates, nor the gentlemen of any subordinate to make purchases at another. It is the same with the out aurungs, dependant on Calcutta ; none of the gentlemen

lemen in the company's service are permitted to send Gomastah's to any place where there is one purchasing goods for the company, without giving notice to the committee of aurungs, and getting a letter from them to the company. gomastah, who is to take care he does not interfere in any thing prejudicial to the company's investments. These restrictions are calculated to keep the revenues confined as much as possible to the company's servants, which would fall extremely short, as well as grow continually dearer, if the free merchants had the privilege of dustucks equally with the company's servants, the great number of purchasers at the aurungs must of course make the price of labour rise, purchasers also who having no dependance on the company, would not willingly submit to any regulations we might make, nor think it just that my preference should be given to the company, the trade would suffer so much by the number of competitors, that we think the effect of such a change would be very difficult, and that instead of being a relief to trade, it would be a great hurt to the merchants in general, and to the interest of the company in particular.

They excused themselves for not endeavouring to obtain the nabob's acceptance of a certain yearly sum to be paid by the company, in lieu of the duties now collected by the government from the merchants of Calcutta, so that all without distinction, might have the privilege of dustucks, but they believed, it they had found it so consistent with the company's interest to put the trade upon

Upon that footing, the nabob's assent could not have been obtained ; far from opposing the proposal, he seemed much alarmed, when the president at Murshadabad made it ; sensible of the great detriment it would be to the revenues of Hughley, which are made up chiefly of the customs upon goods going to and from Calcutta.

The sum to be paid to the nabob in lieu thereof, in case such an agreement had taken place, would have been so considerable, that the dustuck duty to be levied here for the company's reimbursement, must have been a very heavy addition to your other customs ; nor is it to be doubted, but those merchants who complain now of the preference given to the company's servants, in respect of dustucks, would have complained yet louder of this additional duty. At that time, the goods made at Cossimbuzar yielded little or no profit here, while goods made at Decca and Luckypore did yield twenty-five or thirty per cent. Several of the gentlemen of the Decca factory, suffered much in their fortunes, by providing goods, from which they could not get their prime cost ; this risk the company's servants run : it is the fair chance of an open market, which the free merchants for the most part prefer to contracts ; and they have no more right to complain when the price in the market happens to be higher, than the seller ; when it happens to be low, and they bring themselves goods to sell from foreign markets, they are not wanting in their endeavours to sell them for as high a price as they can.

Such therefore have no just reason of complaint, as they have not endeavoured to contract with the

company's servants ; but those who formerly had concerns under the governor and council in the freight ships, had sufficient grounds for complaints. It was a practice for each gentleman of the council, to load his own proportion in goods, and these goods every one charged at what price he thought proper : the captain and super cargo, depending on the governors and council to provide their goods, were obliged to take their concern in a cargo made up after that manner ; and no wonder the voyages turned out extremely ill, an unreasonable profit having been made on the goods before they left, the port.

But the gentlemen jointly concerned, received a very different treatment ; such goods as are bought at market here, not having been contracted for before, are bought on the best terms possible, by managers appointed out of the concerned, and no profit of any sort charged upon them here. Such goods are provided from the aurungs by ourselves, or by contract with the gentlemen at the subordinates, are delivered at so moderate a premium as barely to answer the interest and risk of providing them, with a small consideration for the time and charges saved by means of the dustuck.

The abuse of this indulgence, formerly too common a practice, was but a just reproach. The regard which the company's servants should have for their own reputation, should have been sufficient to make them alter so dishonourable a practice. These men, strangers to all sentiments of justice, should have been held unworthy the company's service, and made a severe example of. The president's should have been more observant of the applica-
tions

tions made to them for dustucks, and all the boats found with English colours without a dustuck, should have been seized. This imposition has been often practised by Portuguese, Armenians, and the country people to defraud the government of their customs, and through the violence or knavery of the Chowkeys succeeded frequently.

The company meant by their directions, that the nabob should not be defrauded of his duties by an abuse of the dustuck, nor private traders oppressed. At all events, they insisted that the dustucks should be put upon such a footing, as to secure the government their duties, and enable the merchants to pay the customs.

In the distant parts of the provinces, something was necessary to be established to prevent the go-mastah's from being guilty of oppressions to the country people. By the firmaund and other subsequent treaties, the company has a right to trade in foreign and inland articles of trade. The government denying the company's servants to trade in a few articles, is usurping an authority, they formerly were forbid to exert. By several regulations and orders concerning dustucks, it plainly appeared the nabob's ministers only meant, the company's servants should not lower any black merchant's goods, or others that had not the privilege of a dustuck; and by that means defraud the government of the duties they would otherwise have collected on the said merchant's goods, which in case of being detected, might have been made a plea for stopping the company's business, and embroiling their affairs.

The subjecting the company's gomaftah's to the controul of the officers of the country government, was attended with the worst of consequences, as it was giving up one of their firmaund's privileges, which must make them contemptible in the eyes of the natives, and be the means of depriving their gomaftah's of the influence necessary for carrying on the least business.

In consequence of the government's collecting a duty on salt, to which for the most part they had acquiesced in. The nabob pleaded custom and right, though the company's servants thought this demand, an infringement of their firmaund privileges,

In order to prevent the company's gomaftah's from making a bad use of their authority, and injuring and diminishing the company's revenues, or interfering the least in them, they were forbiden positively holding lands, villages, &c. of the government, that no other matters should arise, but relatively to trade; that the party injured was to apply for redrefs to the chief of the nearest English factory, who invested with authority sufficient to make the gomaftah complained against appear and answer to the complaint, which if appearing true will have the desired effect, and no injustice be committed by English gomaftah's in the future.

Mr. Vansittart's treaty with Cossim Ally Kawn, having been disapproved by several members of the board, Mr. Hay stated the following reasons for joining with them in passing the censure on the president.

That

That by the treaty or written security that the governor passed to the nabob, the principal rights and privileges of the English company, granted them by the king's firmaund from Dehly, confirmed and fully explained by the treaty with Serajah Dowlah and Meer Jaffier Kawn, and enjoyed since these treaties almost in full, are given up without one single advantage gained by the company; but on the contrary, the total loss of the English credit and reputation in these provinces; which has been greatly declining these two years past, was the visible consequence of this agreement, to every one who saw it and were the least acquainted with the nature of the country people. The wisest regulations and the most steady conduct of this board, will not be able to prevent the immediate bad effects of this ill concerted and unauthorized proceeding of Mr. Vansittart, as too plainly appears from the letters received from the subordinates, and the general complaints of all our agents and gomastahs; which shew there is almost every where a stop, to the great encumbrance on our business, and that our servants are particularly ill used and oppressed.

In considering the arguments for and against the present treaty entered into with the nabob by the president, it is absolutely necessary to the forming a true judgment on the affair, that the unjust methods used in the country courts of justice, as well as the methods practised by the country merchants, in conducting their affairs, should be continually in your mind.

The impossibility of carrying on business, when subjected to the country courts, must appear plain

to every one ; when it is considered that for all sums of money recovered on them you are obliged to pay besides the expences of the court twenty-five per cent. on the money recovered ; which, if the English do not submit to pay, it will always be the interest of the zemindars to decide against them ; this is one of the numberless grievances we should suffer, if subjected to their authority ; the country merchants are sensible of the impossibility of carrying on business under such disadvantages, and are therefore obliged to buy the protection of some person of authority in the government, if their own influence is not sufficient ; which sets them above the reach of the lower zemindars of the country ; protects them from the violence of all, and at the same time gives them a kind of judicial authority, so far as to confine the weavers and peons, when they cannot recover their balances from them otherwise. This was the principal reason for the company's being at so great an expence in procuring their firmaund, which exempt the company from these inconveniences, and likewise of the great care that was taken to preserve them in their full force by the treaties with Serajah Dowlah and Meer Jaffier.

The governor's argument in support of this transaction, is on a supposition, that the greatest enormities have been and are committed by the English gomastah, throughout the country, to the great detriment of the nabob's revenues and government ; but this has not been the case, as plainly appears from the several complaints made against them, being no further supported than by the assertion of those, whose interest it was to make complaints of

of that kind, as some excuse for their non-payment of what was demanded of them; when, if there was any foundation for these complaints, it was so much in their power, and so agreeable to the present government, and to the president, that they should be proved, that they could never have wanted means to have done it; and likewise, by the numberless oppressions that our gomastahs and people have suffered throughout the country for many months past; for it is not to be conceived, that people treated in the manner they have been, could have it in their power to be guilty of those extravagancies and enormities imputed to them by Mr. Vansittart. In the first article of his written security with the nabob, he has given up the rights which the company have by their firmaund and subsequent treaties of granting dustucks, except for ship merchandize; laid a tax of nine per cent. on all other traffick; and in a manner acknowledge, that the English do carry on their trade by force or violence, extortion, or unfair dealing.

I think the board could never have justified themselves for giving up the company's privileges in this manner; and of course, Mr. Vansittart, unauthorised as he was, to enter into any treaty, could have no right to do it; but suppose it otherwise, how was it to be determined which were and were not ship merchandize. Mr. Vansittart indeed, in a subsequent article, left that to be determined by those whose interest it was, that they should not be deemed such, in regard to the trade of one per cent. On the trade, from one part of the country to another, it is insinuated, that this is less than what has been usually paid, and Mr.

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Vansittart said, that on all the trade of this kind, that he carried on in salt, he paid the country duties; though upon enquiry it appeared, that of the innumerable articles traded in this way, only salt and tobacco have paid any, the former of which by far the most considerable, did not pay above three per cent. although we submitted to pay the established country duties on the whole, instead of trading duty free, which I think we have an undoubted right to do, loaded with a duty more than double what is paid by the Dutch, Armenians, or any people in the country.

By the second article, contrary to the privileges; the English enjoyed by grants and treaties, themselves and gomastahs were subject to the jurisdiction of the meanest officer that the nabob employs; without the liberty of an appeal: By being debarred the liberty of making salt, we are deprived of a privilege that every person, Europeans and others, in the country, have, but ourselves the giving up the rights of coining in the different mints, is over-setting a privilege granted from Dehly.

The throwing the whole trade of Assam and Rangamally into the hands of one person was a monopoly most destructive to trade; and more particularly, if what Mr. Vansittart advances be just, that the duty of cotton alone in that country, bring in a revenue of 40,000 rupees, which if you supposed at five per cent. must be raised on 800,000 rupees worth, which if they monopolized, must greatly raise the price of that article, and of course, the price of cloths. Upon the whole, the written security should be demanded of the nabob, and destroyed, to prevent, in future times, when our affairs

Effairs may not be in the flourishing situation they are at present in Bengal, in regard to force, a bad use being made of it, for it is probable, the government would, in case of having the upper hand in the country make use of it to invalidate the privileges the English enjoy by their firmaund.

A plan should be laid down by the board to prevent any injuries being done by the English gomastahs, and for punishing those that are guilty ; which may be well done by a committee appointed for that purpose, who should receive all complaints and appeals from subordinates or agents residing with authority of the board in these quarters, and examine them ; and, as it appears that great part, if not the whole, of the troubles that have happened to the English and their gomastah's of late, are owing to the orders sent over the country by the nabob, a senior servant has been appointed to reside with the nabob, who should be acquainted with all orders regarding the English.

Mr. Johnstone thought the president's letter to the nabob, containing the new regulations he intended to establish, was from its abject style, as well as concessions, highly dishonourable to us, and such as could not fail of ruining our trade and influence, and reduce us lower than the English were at any period in this country ; that the president without authority, or any urgent necessity, resigned to the nabob those rights and privileges we are entitled to by the firmaund and subsequent treaties, and have hitherto enjoyed by virtue of them. First, by distinguishing the company's trade from that of their servants, and agreeing to an exorbitant

art duty of nine per cent on all articles of the inland trade, without distinction or examination of what had usually been paid on any of those articles at the different subordinates, establishing the rate upon that paid by the gentlemen of Lukypore, though expressly mentioned by them to be more than what was paid at Decca, and known to be above the duty paid heretofore at Hughley, and though salt was the only article in his own inland trade that the president remembers to have ever paid any duty on or before this time. Secondly, in subjecting the English and their gomistah's, under the authority of the Moors in courts of justice, contrary to the privileges we have ever enjoyed of protecting those employed under us, and ourselves judges of their actions, the many ill consequences of which, and the entire loss of that credit and pre eminence we have ever maintained, is evident to every body, of which we have had ample proof of, since the circulation of the regulations, as appears from the complaints of every quarter of the abuse of the power so easily put into their hands, by the stoppage of our trade, and attacks openly made on those entitled to our protection. Thirdly, the prohibiting at once, without reason, or even consulting the board, the company's servants at the factories at Luckypore, Islenabad, &c from making salt works themselves, which is a liberty not denied to any native of the country, and by which their fortunes have been and are endangered, as no time was allowed for collecting in the money they had laid out, and the balance due, could only be recovered by receiving the salt from the Milongies they had employed.

The article ordering, without any limitation, that all purchases of lands may be made by any servants of our factories should be resigned, was unjust and dishonourable to us, as if our servants, where they paid the due demands to government, were not entitled to our protection.

The article directing that the chiefs and servants of the factories, are not to hinder the weavers and brokers of the government, has been considered as giving a full power to the nabob's officers over them, and may turn to the ruin of the company's investment, as appeared by the proceedings of Mahomet Alyat, the decca aurungs.

The foregoing the privilege we had of coining in the mints of Patna and Decca, while no provision was made for the currency of our siccas at those places, without discount, was giving up what the company could demand of right; and ordering all purchases at Gualparah to be made entirely through the nabob's organ, was an infringement of our rights of a free trade in that quarter, and against the treaty with Jaffier Ally Cawn, by which we were freed from buying, even obliged to buy, by the intervention of Debolls. Therefore, the treaty ought to be recovered from the nabob, and destroyed, that so bad a precedent never be established, and used against us.

By virtue of the firmaund and the treaties with Serajah Dowlah and Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn, the company and their servants have a right to, without any restriction or limitation, to trade in, and grant dustucks for every article, whether for foreign or inland trade: our having been restricted by the power of the power of the subahs, before

the revolution, from the full enjoyment of those rights, can never be urged as a good argument to invalidate them. When the company became powerful enough to assert them, they were established as fully and clearly as could be expressed in the public treaties then concluded : and in sunnuds and dustucks, afterwards issued in consequence, by Serajah Dowlah and Jaffier Ally Cawn, for the uninterrupted currency of our trade, thro' the indubitable authority of the dustuck, wherever it was granted ; and these sunnuds were not merely for such quarters where the company had factories and aurungs, but comprehended also all the distant frontier provinces, where they had not the least trade of any kind ; and Jaffier Ally Cawn declared, that he understood the treaty in this sense ; that wherever a company's dustuck was granted, no duty could ever be demanded. If custom, and what privileges we enjoyed under the Moor's government before the revolution, are to be established, as what only we have a right to trade in now, by virtue of our grants, firmaund, &c. there is scarce an article of the gruff trade, whether for export and consumption at Calcutta, and other places in the kingdom, but we must give up : for it is known we could not professedly in our names, trade in these articles, though willing to pay the duties and arbitrary exactions required on such occasions ; these various other articles of gruff, are no more particularised or expected in any treaty, firmaund, &c. than the two articles of salt and tobacco, and have been ever since the treaty with Serajah Dowlah carried on with the company's duslück,

We have acquiesced in paying duty on the single article of salt, and passing it with the Shau-bundaras, at Calcutta, Decca and Luckypore, should not now weigh with us to continue it, when our rights are called in question, and we are bound to support them in their full extent; above all, as this article of the produce of the company's own lands, and as it makes a considerable branch of their revenue, ought as much as possible to be protected and encouraged, instead of being oppressed with new taxes, exceeding above double what has yet paid: as for the article of tobacco, no dustuck from the government has ever been taken, and the duty paid on it, has never been demanded till after its arrival at Decca; and at Cosimbuzar, the company's dustucks have been always granted, and never disputed for this article. Therefore, the government have no right to demand that, or any other duties where the dustuck is granted; and this concession should continue on salt and tobacco, as it has been, for beetle nut, rice, opium, sugar, &c. articles consumed in the country, as well as exported.

Those European inhabitants, who by the company's directions, are not entitled to dustucks, should not be exempted from duties; yet when these are discharged for the ease of trade, a passport or certificate from the president, might accompany the ruane of the Budabundar.

The English gomastahs in any part of the three provinces, should be subject in no manner to the jurisdiction of the country government; they are not, in my opinion, more than their principals, to be accountable to them, and never were; and no

step could have been taken more surely to ruin our trade, influence and respect in the country, than acknowledging them our absolute masters and judges. The company have ever been protected, their governors, and those of their servants, while we have subordinate factories, and a fixed government here, justice may always be had, when complaints are well grounded, and can be proved by the government's dependants, nor need we be startled with these laid before us, but from the subject, and exaggeration of most of them, conceive what a state of wretched dependence we should fall into, were we liable to be called upon in every such absurd complaint, preferred to the country government. In these more distant quarters, where the company have not factories, the trade is generally managed by gentle men who have had the approbation of the board to go up the country, and given security for their good behaviour, they may be presumed now to be depended upon for determining equitably any disputes about points of trade, which is all they should, or need have any connection with at any zemindar's court, an appeal may, nevertheless, lie from them to the nearest subordinate, and when such persons are publicly known in those quarters, as under the protection, and acting with the permission and authority of the board, to whom they are to be accountable, they may, without any new regulation or innovation, carry on their trade to the satisfaction of the people, and without any detriment to, or interfering with the collection of the revenues.

Mr,

Mr. Hastings's name appearing to the letter, proposing the regulations which formed the substance of the president's letter to the nabob, it could not be expected of him to join in the harsh and unmerited censure passed upon them, by the members which then formed the board ; he at that time regarded these regulations, not as a concession of any new rights to the nabob, but a confirmation of those which he held by the treaties in force ; nor has any thing appeared since to make him change that opinion.

His sentiments upon the extent of the dustuck and the privileges of the company's gomastahs, he fully explained, observing that the settling the duties on the inland trade at nine per cent. the governor only fixed the trade, which was before variably levied, with continual disputes, to the great detriment of the fair trader ; and in this he acted in strict conformity to the plain and literal instructions of the board ; whatever sense they were intended to convey.

The president so fully explained the motives and reasons for such a transaction, that they need not to be repeated : upon the whole, the regulations in question, were calculated in the best manner to put our trade upon a proper footing, to distinguish our rights from those of the nabob, to preserve the English name from reproach, and the affairs of the company from suffering by continual disputes and contentions, in which they had no concern.

To understand the meaning of any treaty, where the expressions are doubtful and defective, recourse should be had to the circumstances of the parties concerned, at the time in which they were made ; regard-

regarding the firmaund in this light, we shall make no scruple to pronounce, that the company could not, where they obtained that grant from the court of Dehly, understand it to extend beyond their own trade, or include privileges of which they could not make any use ; and which they never dreamt of.

The commerce on imports and exports ever bounded, as of necessity it must, their concerns in this country, for the encouragement of a trade beneficial to the government and its revenues ; the court at that time in its flourishing state, and supported by wise and able ministers, indulged the company with the freedom which they petitioned for from duties ; that the trade in such commodities as were produced and sold in the country, was entirely confined to the natives ; they were either formed, or where they were considerable enough to make an article in the public revenues, or circulated through the province by the poorer sort of people, to whom, whilst they afforded a subsistence, they at the same time added to the income of the state, by the duties gathered upon them : let us suppose the company's agents had petitioned for the liberty of trading in these articles, without paying duties ; can it be conceived, that the government could have been so blind to its own interest, as to have given a privilege to strangers, which would have enabled them to monopolize the whole trade of the country, to impoverish the natural subjects, and exhaust the country of its wealth, without making any adequate return for it ? the privileges therefore claimed by the company, and allowed by

by the government, were originally designed by both, for such a trade only as was carried on by the former, that is, in goods brought into the country, or purchased in it for exportation ; in effect, it was ever limited to that ; nor cannot be proved, that the dustuck was ever allowed to pass for any other from the first engagement of this grant, until the death of Serajah Dowlah : the company in their standing orders before that time, prohibited their servants from meddling with what we now term inland trade, and name it illicit ; nor can any difference of power convey to us a right from former treaties, which we confessedly wanted before, though since the restoration of the company's privileges we have by degrees dealt in the inland trade, yet it was always with a tacit acknowledgment of the invalidity of our dustucks for that trade, having generally paid the government a duty thereon ; and when it was attempted without, it has constantly been the subject of complaints and opposition of the nabob's officers.

It has been objected that we should not be too rigorous in calling in question our own privileges ; but where the sense of a treaty is not sufficiently clear, interpret it in such a manner as may tend to our own advantage, leaving to others to dispute it ; and that therefore as the firmaund gives us a general right to trade, duty-free, without mentioning any exceptions, we should insist on a free trade in every thing without limitation. If this principle is just at all, it can only be so where the points contested for are of real importance ; but where they are either trivial in themselves, or have a pernicious tendency, it must be an absurdity to insist upon them. We must distinguish between the in-

terest of the company and that of individuals, which have been too much confounded ; that the company will not suffer by a restriction of the dustuck to foreign merchandize is manifest, since, with that restriction, it will answer every purpose for which they want it. Besides the odium which a monopoly so injurious to the natural rights of the country-merchants, must unavoidably cast upon the English name, and the perpetual jealousies which from experience, we know it to be attended with prove that this privilege is in effect highly prejudicial to the real interest, as well as honour to the company. As they have been pleased to permit their servants to share with them the benefit of the dustuck, they may surely content themselves with the enjoyment of that privilege, within the same bounds to which the company is limited. To attempt to extend it beyond that, and for the sake of our own private advantage, to make this a point of contest with the power in alliance with the company, is both a violation of justice and a breach of the duty which we owe to our employers.

We can claim no right from the firmaun, nor of course the subsequent treaties, which were but intended as copies of that ; in the articles regarding our commerce to an exemption from duties on any but foreign trade, that is, in goods imported or carried out of the country. Duties ought to be paid to the country government, on salt, beetle-nut and other articles, which are produced and sold in the country ; and of course the dustuck ought not to be given for those articles, but that they pass with a certificate from the officers of the customs in the same manner with the goods belonging to other merchants. Whether we trade in salt with the

company's dustuck, or as other merchants, without them, the dustuck is a sufficient distinction in the first case, and the latter requires none.

The English gomastahs, in every part of the three provinces, whether in the districts of the nabob or the company, should be subject to the magistrate ; but with this distinction, to be observed between private gomastahs and those of the company ; that the former should be equally accountable to the magistrate for any misdemeanor, with any one of the nabob's subjects, that should at any time reside in the territories of the company, nor enjoy any advantages above any other merchants, but such only as the firmaun gives them, viz. that their goods shall pass duty-free, wherever they have the protection of the dustuck ; the magistrate shall not oppose but assist them, in the recovery of their just debts, nor suffer any one to injure and oppress them ; but as the company's gomastahs have a weightier charge, and are none of them situated at such a distance from the company's factories, but that complaints against them may be both easily heard and speedily redressed, it should be only permitted to the magistrate to oppose them in the actual commission of any violence, or the assumption of any right not belonging to them, but in any disputes with their immediate dependants, such as the weavers, pykers, or debolls in their service, he shall not interfere otherwise than by assisting them in carrying their complaints to the presidency, or the factories to which the gomastah's belong for redress ; but the gomastah shall not therefore protect his own dependants for any lawful claims of the government,

yernment, nor their persons from justice in any criminal cases,

- This seems to be the only equitable method for preventing any misbehaviour in the company's servants, or disputes between them and the country powers. If the magistrate at any time should abuse his authority, the nabob should be required upon proof to dismiss him from his office, or inflict any other punishment suitable to the degree of the offence. If this justice, so essential to the nabob's own interest, and tranquility of the country be refused, or from the distance of his residence cannot be timely obtained, we have always the means in our power, when such extraordinary occasions may demand it to vindicate our right, and call the infringers of it to justice.

From the peculiarity of the times, and a natural propensity in the weaker part of mankind, to run from one extreme to another, it has unfortunately happened, that the power suddenly placed in the hands of the nabob's officer's, for the protection of his people, has been so extravagantly abused, as to give occasion to a persuasion in many, that no power can with safety be trusted in their hands. Those of the company's servants who have lived amongst the country people in an inferior station, and at a time when they were subject to the most slavish dependence in the government, always met with the greatest indulgence, and even respect from the zamindars and other officers ; can with the greatest confidence deny the justice of this opinion ; and add further from repeated experience, that if the company's servants, instead of creating themselves into lords and oppressors of the country, had con-

ned themselves to an honest and fair trade, and submitted to the lawful authority of the government, they would have been every where courted and respected, and the English name instead of having become a reproach, would have been universally revered ; the country would reap a benefit from our commerce, and the power of the English, instead of being made a bugbear to frighten the poor inhabitants into a submission to injury and oppression, would have been regarded by them as the greatest blessing and protection.

It is as impossible for any state to subsist with a divided power, as with none. The company's servants are as likely at least, to make an ill use of their power as the nabob's officers, but are not so easily to be restrained. In whose hands therefore can it be so properly lodged as in those of the government to whom it properly belongs ? to take from them that right, which the company's servants should ever suffer to be contested in their own districts, will introduce oppression, rapine and anarchy, into the country which they are engaged to protect ; and whatever temporary advantages individuals may gain from such a scene of troubles, the affairs of the company must infallibly suffer by it, if not be involved in one common ruin with the country.

That this consequence may not appear too forcibly drawn, it has been observed, that the wisest and most permanent states have ever left it to conquered nations, the exercise of their own laws and by that means insured their subjection. The power which the company has acquired in these provinces has reduced them into a condition as nearly resembling

bling a conquest, as it is for their own interest to wish it ; but as they take so ungenerous as well as impolitic advantage of their weakness, as to put it in the power of every banyan who calls himself an English servant, to tyrannize over the inhabitants without controul, this is not only to deprive them of their own laws, but to deny them even the benefit of any.

Mr. Cartier gives us his opinion, that the president's letter to the nabob was in every respect improper, and naturally intended, for the concessions contained therein, to bring upon the English name discredit and real disgrace ; the late violences and outrages committed by the natives, are a certain argument of its impropriety, and which were clearly foreseen the very instant the said letter was made public. The hope given them of being constituted judges and arbitrators of all disputes that might happen in the intercourse of our business, gave cause to the many inconveniences and tyranny, that we have lately suffered : the subjecting us to such a controul would have effectually destroyed our influence and reputation in the country, and would unavoidably have led us from the manifold oppressions we must have fell under by such regulations taking place, to the necessity of taking up arms for the redress of these grievances; every member of this colony must have fell by so arbitrary a jurisdiction : as it is, the evil has spread wide, and has acquired such strength that no other methods, I doubt, but forcible ones would have been able to remove it. The members of the board did not intend giving a direct consent to the presidents entering into a treaty with the nabob on points so

very

very interesting, to the company's privileges, or did they imagine such a step was any way's necessary ; the said regulations previous to the assent or disapprobation of the board, were made known to the nabob, and the same ordered by him to his different officers, to be carried into execution, before such agreement could have the concurrence of the several members of the council. Such regulations were in no respect agreeable to the tenor and spirit of our firmaund, and the subsequent treaties entered with the nabobs Sefajah Dowlah and Meer Jaffier, but would have been the means of confining these privileges into much narrower bounds than the grants and treaties were intended to restrain us in.

On the true extent and meaning of the firmaund and allsubsequent treaties, Mr. Cartier thinks, that by the privileges invested in us by our firmaund, that trade is under no limitation whatever, either in foreign or inland commodities. The want of power to assert formerly the immunities of the firmaund, cannot be construed to an absolute and entire deprivation of them ; this reason now no longer existing, we ought to exert our privileges to their fullest extent and latitude, nor submit to the capricious conduct and encroaching behaviour of the country government.

On the trade of salt and tobacco, no objection 'could' be had to the payment of an equitable duty, more particularly as we have hitherto, both at the presidency and the factories of Decca and Luckypore, submitted to pay on one or both of these articles ; but let that be fixed at a medium of what has been paid at the different settlements, and farther more

to be considered as a concession made the nabob; and not claimed as a right paid us at times which custom has established, and not to be confirmed by any treaty.

It is allowed, that the trade in salt and tobacco, is in every respect agreeable to our firmaund privileges; there is no reason why a dustuck should not be granted for those articles as well as for all others; though at the same time, as a duty may probably be laid on these two articles, they should be accompanied with the buxbandar's receipt to ascertain that the full duties have been paid, and that nothing farther is to be demanded on any account.

As certificates have been granted indiscriminately to the company's servants as well as to the inhabitants of Calcutta, the same should be continued to the latter, on their application to the president; on producing the buxbandar's receipt for duties paid; though at the same time the duty stipulated and agreed upon to be levied on these branches of trade, the properties of company's servants, should serve, as no regulations for what may be demanded from them.

The nature of government in every part of Indostan being in all respects oppressive and venal, and the decisions of all causes depending more on the ability of the parties engaged in bribing their judges, than the legality of them, it can scarcely be thought even equitable that the servants and go-mastah's employed by the company, should on any complaint or misdemeanour be subject to their determination.

It is likewise a known truth, that in every dispute concerning property and money matters, a fourth part is appropriated for the service of the government and officers. This probably might not be insisted upon from the company's servants, though the other party being subjected to the established custom of the country, shews what a superior influence would be acquired on that side : but even independent of this custom, and should it not be expected or demanded from either party, yet the integrity of the proposed judges as so little allowed of, that it would be the highest absurdity to expect it, or even to submit in their having the least power or authority over the company's servants : should this even be permitted, it will not be presumption to declare that we may then begin to date the commencement of our declining influence in the country, and would most certainly be productive of continual broils, should we have spirit sufficiently remaining to resent the injustice and indignities we must in such a situation be exposed to.

Though it is improper to allow the officers of the government any kind of controul over the company's gomastah's, yet their actions should not be uncontrollable. Let the person injured, if not employed by the company, lay the complaint before the magistrate of the district he is in, to be by him forwarded with the complaint to the president or chiefs, and council, of the different factories near the district where the complaint comes from ; where the gomastah so complained against shall be ordered down to justify himself as to the accusation lodged against him ; should complaints arise in

parts distant from either the presidency or the factories, a confidence might be reposed in the gentlemen employed as our agents in those parts, as they are men of character, and their appointments have been approved by the members of the board, and each depended upon to settle the complaints brought against their gomastah's. It is necessary, that the company should judge of all disputes in which their servants may be concerned ; most true it is, it has not the most equitable appearance ; but every gentleman must be convinced how highly essential such a privilege is for the supporting their influence and avoiding chicanery and perplexities of a Moorish court ; a power so lodged in their hands is liable to less abuses, and may be exercised with the strictest impartiality, notwithstanding they are parties in the decision of the cause.

The first part of Mr. Vansittart's letter to the nabob, contained the agreement for the company's servants paying a duty of nine per cent. on all articles for inland trade. The firmaun and subsequent treaties were certainly the only goods that could enable them to form a proper judgment on this subject ; and they gave them an undoubted right to trade, duty free, in all commodities whatever, either from foreign or inland trade, upon consideration of paying annually a sum stipulated in lieu thereof. It follows of course, that the president had entered into an agreement, which evidently deprived them of one of the greatest advantages they had gained thereby, on the bare supposition that it would be approved by the other members of the board ; however, as the nabob's revenues must

must have suffered, should the company's servants carry on a commerce of every kind, without paying any duties, some reasonable compensation should have been made him for the privilege of the inland trade; he should at the same time have been made sensible that he was by no means entitled thereto, and that it was entirely a mark of favour.

It is well known, that the agents or gomastahs cannot confine themselves within the limits of the authority with which they are invested. The many daring outrages and oppressions which have been committed by the nabob's officers, ever since his orders for enforcing these regulations, were first issued, sufficiently point out the impropriety of them. The president's letter might hereafter be used by his successors, as a plea different from the purpose for which it was designed. The company's dustuck should always be granted equally for the inland as well as the foreign trade, after it was settled, whether the company should pay any, and what duty; this would have effectually cut off all subject of dispute, by putting it out of the power of the officers to make any objection to the passage of the goods; and none but the company's servants should have the president's passport for the salt, which may have paid the government duty at Hughley.

In regard to the disputes that may happen between the company's agents and the people of the country, the only plan for the determination of them, would be to oblige the person who may think himself aggrieved, to apply for redress to the nearest factory, and if he is not content with their decision,

decision, he may appeal to the governor and council.

Mr. Batson thought the president's letter to the nabob detrimental to the interest of the company, and the nation in general; because by a forced and groundless explanation, it invalidated the privileges granted by the king's firmaun, confirmed by subsequent treaties.

Such an explanation coming from the chief of the English, may give great advantage to the nabob's and to other European nations against us, in future negotiations, which we may happen to have with them. By this letter, also the advantage of coining in the mints of Patna and Decca was given up, and the mint of Calcutta rendered of little or no service; for by our being prohibited from using any authority over the chiefs, the currency of rupees coined at Calcutta, will be stopped in most parts of the country; and this was the case of Cossimbuzar and Murshadabad. These advantages which were so strenuously contended for many years together, were given up without any public consideration; the said letter also tended to destroy the national influence in the country, and to bring us into contempt; because the form of address and several expressions were unbecoming, submissive and condescending; but chiefly because it submitted to the English agents, not excepting the company's factories to the jurisdiction of the nabob's officers, which would immediately put a stop to great part of the private trade, and would furnish the nabob with continual pretences for subjecting the company to the same oppressions which they underwent before the rupture with Serajah Dowlah, whenever he should

should think himself in a condition to proceed to such lengths ; therefore Mr. Batson insisted with other members of the board on the nabob's sending back the original letter.

By the firmaund and subsequent treaties, the company, and under them their servants, had a clear right to trade in every article whether for foreign or inland trade, which it is their duty to preserve entire and undisputed ; and indeed the opposite arguments, prove no more than that the former nabobs had the power and means of hindering us from enjoying the king's grant in it's full extent.

The company should have acquiesced in paying the same duty on salt and tobacco that had been paid since Meer Jaffier's coming to the subah, but the same should not be agreed to by any public deed or writing. The salt trade being formerly farmed by Cujah Vazeed, for an inconsiderable sum, could be no great advantage to the nabob's revenue ; and by means of the monopoly he allowed the dealers at the first hand a very small price, from 25 to 30 rupees per 100 maunds ; but since the English have had a part of the trade, the price of salt has risen to 70 or 80 rupees per hundred maunds at the aurungs ; from whence it is clear, that from the English trading in this article, the nabob received benefit, and suffered no loss ; his complaints on this head therefore did not proceed from any real grievance : dustucks should have been allowed to the company's servants in future for such articles, but no others.

The committee of secrecy to enquire into the state of the East India company, and for that purpose,

purpose to inspect the books and accounts of the said company ; having made the report of what they found material, with respect to the profits which the company derive from their commerce, and from the territorial acquisitions lately obtained in the East Indies, proceeded, in pursuance of the order of the house, to enquire further into the situation of the company's affairs, and particularly how far the same may have been affected by the management of the company or their servants ; and your committee thought, that among the many objects, that offered themselves to their consideration under this extensive head of enquiry, the state and management of the revenues, lately obtained in Bengal and Bahar, required their immediate attention, and your committee thought it right to begin, by enquiring into the nature of these revenues ; and having for this purpose inspected the books and correspondence of the company, and having examined Harry Verelst, Esq ; late president of Fort William in Bengal, who had been employed for several years in the collection of part of the said revenues ; your committee find that the revenues, of which the company, are at present possessed in the province of Bengal and Bahar, consists of rents of lands, duties and customs, farms of exclusive privileges, fines and forfeitures, and with respect to the rents of lands, which constitute the principal parts of the said revenues, they find, that all the lands of the said provinces are considered as belonging to the crown or sovereign of the country, who claims a right to collect rents or revenues from all the said lands, except such as are appropriated to charitable

ble and religious purposes; which, having been granted by different princes, are understood by the general tenor of such grants to be exempted from payment of any rents to the sovereign.

There are, besides, other lands, held by grants of different kinds, which pay only a fixed annual acknowledgment or rents, and that in general much below the medium rate of rents in the provinces: these are called jaghires, which are grants from the crown to individuals, or talooks, which are grants from the nabob or prince to individuals; and Mr. Verelst informed your committee, that these jaghires and talooks vary in the nature of their tenure; the jaghires being sometimes to the grantees for life only, and sometimes for the life of other persons in the same family; but the talooks do more regularly descend to the heirs of the first grantees, than the jaghires.

right of making such alterations in these duties, are as they thought proper. And that the company, since they have been possessed of the said revenues, have likewise exercised the right of making alterations therein.

And your committee find, that the farms of exclusive privileges, which make a part of the said revenues, are farms of privileges of exclusive trade ; and it appears to your committee that the same did exist before the company became possessed of these revenues ; and your committee finds that the fines and forfeitures, which are stated as parts of the said revenues, are fines and forfeitures for breaches of law, criminal, civil, or religious, of the said country.

Your committee proceeded next to inquire in what manner these revenues are collected ; and they find, that the duan collects the same, by leasing them out, either to the rajah or zemindars, who are considered as having a sort of hereditary right, or at least a right of preference to the lease of the revenues of the province, to which they respectively belong ; or, other farmers under the names of Izodars and other appellations ; or to officers appointed by government under the names of Fowzdars, Raumils and Fussildars, with all whom the government make in general annual engagement for the revenues of the several districts.

And your committee having enquired, whether the company have ever dismissed any of the rajors or zemindars of this provinces, they find, that the company have taken into their hands the revenues of the provinces of Burdwan and Nuddea, upon the rajor of the said provinces falling in arrear of rent

rent; and that a support was allowed by the company to the said rajah.

And your committee find, that an annual rent-roll of the said provinces, called the Bundibus, is renewed and settled every year at a festival, called the poonah; which is usually held in the month of May, for Bengal, and in the month of September for Bahar: and your committee refer to the journals of the 28th of April, 1767, when a rent-roll, or bundibus, for the province of Bengal, for the year 1765, was laid before the house, to shew the nature and form of this instrument; and they have added in the appendix of this report, a rent-roll, or bundibus, for the province of Bahar, for the like purpose.

And your committee find, that in settling the said rent-roll, the government first endeavours to treat for the revenues of each province, or district, where there is a rajah or zemindar, with such rajah or zemindar; and if the rajah or zemindar does not come to an agreement with government, an officer is appointed to superintend the collections, which collections are made by such officer in the names of the rajah or zemindar, and his own; public orders being issued in their joint names; and in districts where there is no rajah or zemindar, they endeavour to treat with the present farmer; and if such farmer does not come to an agreement with government, the lands and revenues he holds, are, in such case, let to some other farmer for the best rent which can be procured; or taken into the hands of government.

And your committee find, that after the general rent-roll is thus settled, between the government

and the several rajahs, zemindars, farmers and others, under different names ; these again make their agreements with those of lesser degree, either with the ancient occupiers or tenants, called, ryotts, or with new tenants. And Mr. Verelst informed your committee, that by the ancient rule of government, agreements with the ryotts for lands, which they and their families have held, were considered as sacred, and that they were not to be removed from their possessions, as long as they conformed to the terms of their original contracts ; but that this rule had not always been duly observed.

And your committee having inquired whether the rajah, zemindar, farmer, or collector, have a right to lay any new duties, or augment the old ones, by their own authority : they find, that they have no such right : it appeared, however, to your committee, by the evidence, of Peter Michell, Esq; secretary to the said company, and of Samuel Wilkes, Esq; examiner of India correspondence, that the books and correspondence of the company afford many instances of the country having been exceedingly distressed by additional taxes levied by the zemindar, farmer, or collector ; but not so much by the two former as by the latter, and Mr. Verelst informed your committee, that he believed that the aforesaid officers and collectors had levied new duties or augmented the old ones, by their own authority, in every part and corner of the country ; and that they did this much more, before the company was in possession of the dewanee, than since ; and he added, that the government have a right to call upon them for every thing so collected : and that they have been called to an account,

count, since the company held the dewanee, in several instances.

And your committee find by the correspondence of the company, that the president and council at Fort William, are endeavouring to ascertain the amount of the mufusul collections, or the revenues levied by the rajah, zemindar, or farmer, in the several districts of Bengal, in order to fix the profits of the said rajah, zemindar, or farmer, at a stated and reasonable sum, to prevent in future undue charges in the collections, and to preserve the ryott from oppression by undue, additional, and arbitrary demands.

Your committee proceeded next to inquire into the produce of these revenues, and to enable the house to judge, whether the same have increased or diminished,- since they have been in the hands of the company : your committee were desirous of knowing, what had been the produce of the said revenues, while the provinces where they are collected were under the antient government of the mogul or nabob ; and having examined Mr. Michell and Mr. Wilkes, your committee were informed by them, that there is not to be found in the books or correspondence of the company, any general statement of the said revenues, while these provinces were under the government before-mentioned : but Mr. Verelst informed your committee, that having caused the records of the government of Bengal at Muxadavad to be examined, lie found Suja Khan, who was seated on the misnud or throne in the year 1738, used his best endeavours to increase the revenues, and that the net revenues arising from the whole of that province, except from

from the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong, and the twenty-four Calcutta purgunnahs, were then as follows, viz.

| | Sicca Rupees. |
|--|--------------------|
| Crown rent - - - | 6,656,884 9 4 2 |
| A collection for the expence of his own house - - - | 2,391,356 2 6 0 |
| Jaghire to the buxey of the empire - - - | 110,238 3 10 1 |
| Jaghire to the duan - - - | 452,171 9 16 3 |
| A collection for the pay- ment of troops in garri- son - - - - | 241,109 0 4 3 |
| A collection for defraying marine expences - - - | 1,013,792 14 11 2 |
| A further collection for troops in garrison - - - | 42,318 3 0 0 |
| Sicca rupees | 10,907,870 10 13 3 |
| Current rupees at 2. 3. each | 12,653,129 12 11 0 |
| Or pounds sterl. | 1,429,477 2 6 0 |

During the reign of Suffitz Khan, the revenues of this country continued under the like regulations, and no alteration were made by him, but when Alliverdi Khan having killed his predecessor, usurped the government, he was compelled upon the Morattas invading Bengal, to the payment of a chout, one-fourth of the estimated original crown revenue: the amount of this chout was agreed to be sicca rupees 1,104,262 6 7, for defraying of which, an additional collection was made in the

the provinces; and this, with some further taxes for the expence, for building and other charges, raised the aforesaid revenues in his time, to the amount of 13,282,960 2 17 1, or 1,733,426 pounds sterling; and the revenues continued in this state until the soubahdary of Cossim Ally Khan, who was seated on the misnud in the year 1760, when he laid an additional tax of one, and rupees, 450,164 2 9, which being added to the former revenues of 13,282,960 2 17 1, made the whole of these revenues in his time amount to 13,733,124 5 6 1, or, 1,792,172 pounds sterl.

Mr. Verelst further informed your committee, that he had not materials sufficient to ascertain the progressive raise in the revenues in the province of Behar, or in the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, or the Calcutta purgannahs; but he presumes they must have kept peace with those of the other parts of the country; that the province of Chittagong was conquered about the year 1665, by a regulation Aurangebe, and that the defence of it was for some time a heavy expence to government; but the inhabitants afterwards greatly increasing and the lands being improved by cultivation, the revenues arising from them assigned to several officers, commanding their troops, for the defence of their country on condition that they kept up a sufficient force for that purpose; the lands under their management continuing afterwards to that purpose, so as they yield a sum considerable above the real charge of the force necessary for the defence of the province, the government claimed a share thereof, so that about the year 1713, a crava rent was fixed on those lands amounting to sicca rupees 68,422, 10 7/4 in addi-

addition to the revenues raised for the defence of the province ; which crown rents have since been called the original rent, and on which every subsequent encrease has been calculated. Between the years 1713 and 1727, the rents of this province was raised four annus or one fourth part ; from 1727 to 1734, it was raised one fourth part more ; and by several subsequent augmentations, every rupee of original crown rent was increased in the year 1759 to $4\frac{1}{3} \text{ } 10\frac{1}{2}$ rupees ; and the ancient rent of rupees $68 \text{ } 422 \text{ } 10 \text{ } 7\frac{1}{4}$ was thereby raised to the sum of $331,529 \text{ } 1 \text{ } 15$, besides several other extraordinary taxes levied for the support of government under various pretences.

Your committee having thus obtained the best information they were able of the ancient state of these revenues ; they proceeded next to enquire, what they had produced since the company became possessed of them ; and for that purpose, having called for a statement of the revenues of Bengal and Bahar, including the province of Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong, and twenty-four Calcutta purgunnahs, from the time the company became possessed of them respectively ; the following account was produced to your committee which the servants of the company informed them is as perfect as can be produced from any account transmitted to the court of directors.

The state of the Bengal revenues, shewing the gross receipts and the charges of collections, &c. charges in each year, from the time the company became possessed of each of these revenues, is as follows :

L. Sterling

£. sterlins

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------|
| From May 1758, to April 1759, | - | 57,253 |
| From 1756 to 1760 | - | Ditto |
| From 1760 to 1761 | - | 25,754 |
| From 1761 to 1762 | - | 163,888 |
| From 1762 to 1763 | - | 677,832 |
| From 1763 to 1764 | - | 635,199 |
| From 1764 to 1765 | - | 631,416 |
| From 1765 to 1766 | - | 606,132 |
| From 1766 to 1767 | - | Ditto |
| From 1767 to 1768 | - | 2,550,094 |
| From 1768 to 1769 | - | 2,451,255 |
| From 1769 to 1770 | - | 2,401,191 |
| From 1770 to 1771 | - | 2,118,294 |

The rise and fall of a revenue, as well as any deviation from the agreements, made a rise from two causes, the balances of proceeding years being brought into the current year, or remissions in the revenues on account of losses by draughts or excessive rains, as well as the misconduct of the farmers.

It appears by the nabob's funnud granting to the company the twenty-four purgannah's that there was to be an annual payment to him for the king's rent of the sum of rupees 222,958; it is supposed the above sum, was on account of these rents preceeding the grant of them to lord Clive as a jaghire.

The committee proceeded next to enquire into the several payments, that have been made out of the said revenues by virtue of any treaties or agreements entered into by the president and council of Calcutta, or the select committee there, or by

by any order made by them, or by order of the court of directors in England.

And the committee found, that by articles of agreement between the king, Shah Allum, and the nabob Nudjum al Dowlah, August 19th, 1765, to which the company were made guarantors, a tribute of 26 lacs per annum, was agreed to be paid to the said Shah Allum out of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa. And by an agreement made with the aforesaid Nudjum al Dowlah, September 30th, 1765, the annual stipend of 5,386 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ g, was agreed to be paid to the said nabob as an adequate allowance for the support of the nizamut.

And by the agreement made between Syelf al Dowlah and the governor and council of Fort William, 1766, the annual stipend of 4,186,13 $\frac{1}{2}$ g, was agreed to be paid to the said nabob, for the purpose above-mentioned. And by an agreement made March 21st, 1770, the annual sum of 3,181,991 g, was agreed to be paid by the governor and council of Fort William, to the nabob Maberakul Dowlah.

And in 1771, it was ordered that the nabob's stipend should be reduced to 16 lacs of rupees per annum, during his minority; and by the order of the select committee at Calcutta, dated December 31st, 1766, and an allowance of 12 lacs of rupees per annum, was settled upon the ministers, Reza Kawn, Roy Doolub, and Shitabroy, to commence from the 31st of January, 1767, which allowance was afterwards divided in the following proportion.

| | | | |
|----------------------|---|---|------------------|
| To Mahomed Reza Kawn | - | 9 | lacks per annum; |
| Roy Doollub | - | - | 2 |
| Shiltabroy | - | - | 99,996 rupees. |

Besides the above-mentioned allowances, - lord Clive and the select committee allotted Shiltabroy a monthly allowance of 25,000 rupees.

Mahomed Reza Kawn's salary was afterwards reduced from nine to five lacks. In consequence of the evils suffered by the late famine in Bengal, the governor and select committee, on the 26th of May 1770, ordered 30 lacks of rupees at least to be stopped out of the tribute to the king, and the allowances to the nabobs and ministers.

In consideration of the merit of the family of the Seats to the company, the governor and council of Fort William agreed, that a claim of the Seats to the amount of 21 lacks of rupees, lent to the late nabob Meer Jaffier, for the support of his and the English army, should be paid in equal proportions by the company and nabob, at certain stated periods, within the course of ten years. Several other payments were made out of the revenues of the dewanee, since the company became possessed of them, on account of restitution for private losses in the war with Cossim Ally Kawn, and of donations to the army and navy for their services on that occasion. When the war broke out with Cossim Ally Kawn, in the year 1763, and a resolution was taken by the president and council of Fort William, to restore Meer Jaffier to the subahship, in consequence of which, they entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to reimburse to all.

private persons the amount of such losses, as they might sustain in their trade in the country ; and as he should not be able to discharge this in ready money, to give assignment of lands for the same, and upon the same occasion the said Meer Jaffier promised a donation of 25 lacks of rupees to the army.

Meer Jaffier gave to the commander of the fleet an engagement in writing for the payment of twelve lacks and a half of rupees to the navy ; a large proportion of the restitution-money, and of the donation to the army was paid by Meer Jaffier, his successor, while they were in possession of the dewanee, but no part of the donation to the navy was paid by them. At a general court it was recommended to the court of directors, to cause so much of the donation to the navy, as could be recovered, to be paid out of the arrears of the revenues due to the nabob of Bengal ; and for so much as the said arrears should fall short of the amount of the said donation, to be paid out of the company's dewanee, at such reasonable times as shall be most convenient to their affairs ; and the court of directors gave orders conformable to the said resolution, to the president and council at Fort William, for the immediate payment out of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa, of what remained unpaid of the restitution-money, to the several persons to whom it was due, according to their claims, as admitted and liquidated by the committee. The balance unpaid to the claimants of the restitution-fund was ordered to be paid in Bengal, as soon as the state of the company's treasury would permit. The president and council at Fort William had

drawn

drawn bills on the court of directors for one moiety of the navy donation, which bills appear by an account delivered into the committee to the amount of 76,049l. and they had agreed to give interest-lands to the navy agents at Fort William for the other moiety, and to give them bills on the court of directors, in exchange for the said bonds, when the treasury at Fort William should be open.

The president and council at Fort William paid on account of restitution for private losses on the 12th day of May 1766, current rupees 318,000, and to the army agent on account of the donations, current rupees 150,000, then 24,000 and lastly current rupees 145,632; being the balance of that account, the total amount of claims for restitution allowed, was current rupees 5,568,000 and the balance remaining unpaid 1,533,818.

The court of directors ordered that out of the several deductions directed to be made from the allowance of the nabob, and the stipends to the ministers, as was before stated, the sums paid by the company to the army and navy on account of the donations debts due, and stipulated payments to individuals, should first be wholly satisfied and reimbursed to the company ; and such farther sums as should arise from the said reductions, should be applied from time to time to clear the balance unpaid to the claimants of the restitution fund, and also the donation of two lacs to colonel Monro, promised to him by Meer Jaffier, in consideration of his having relinquished a jaghira in Bengal granted to him by the king, at such proportions as the respective claims may bear to each other, until the whole shall be discharged.

- And

; And the committee having enquired whether any jaghires had been granted out of these revenues, since the company became possessed of them, they found that a jaghire had been granted to Dolabram amounting to 187,500 rupees per annum; part of two pergunnahs were also granted.

| | Rupees |
|----------------------------------|--------------|
| To Moneer zel Dowlah - - - | value 56,649 |
| To Mr. R. Cawn, one jaghire - | ditto 16,064 |
| To ditto one other jaghire - - | ditto 19,788 |
| And to ditto one other jaghire - | ditto 24,234 |

It appeared that the jaghire of Dolabram was granted by the king Shah Allum; and according to a letter of Mahomed Reza Cawn, to the noble president of Fort William, Mr. R. Cawn says, "My lord you are pleased out of your favours to confer upon me a jaghire." And since the company became possessed of the said revenues certain sums have been paid out of them to the presidents and other servants of the company in India, under the name of commission. An allowance was ordered to be made by the court of directors to their president, Mr. Vansittart, and to the president for the time being, of a commission of two and half per cent. to be deducted from the net annual revenue of their acquired territories, to be paid at the close of every year. This allowance was afterwards confirmed by the court of directors as a settled and invariable emolument to every governor; and so long as Mr. Vansittart was to continue in the government of Bengal, he was allowed a commission of two and a half per cent. of all such revenues

revenues as have or may rise out of the grants from Cossim ally Kawn, and the payment was to commence with the cession of those countries ; adding that this additional emolument was expressly to be understood as a distinct reward due to the personal merit of the said president, Mr. Vansittart, and was absolutely to cease upon his quitting the government ; it was not to be claimed or any ways pretended to by their future governors, whose fixed emoluments, very handsome and extensive, were to be confined to the orders and regulations of the 13th of March, 1761, the sum of 6000l. per annum was allowed lord Clive, as president and governor, to be paid him monthly, and to commence upon his arrival in Bengal ; which allowance together with one per cent. out of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. coinage duty, was to be in full consideration for all his services, both civil and military ; and his lordship was consequently to have no allowance whatever, by way of commission or otherwise, out of the revenues from any of the territorial acquisitions whatsoever. In consideration of lord Clive's having relinquished five shares to which he was entitled in the capital stock of the society of trade, as well as every other commercial benefit and advantage, they did assign to his lordship, as an equivalent for the same ; a commission of $1\frac{1}{6}$ per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal and Bahar ; and as Mr. Verelst was to have the charge of the government for several months after his lordship's departure, the select committee further resolved, that Mr. Verelst should in like manner draw the commission of $1\frac{1}{6}$ upon the revenues of Bengal and Bahar, until he should have resigned the government. The court

of directors ordered that the allowance of $1 \frac{1}{2}$ per cent. commission on the dewanee revenues, settled by the governor and council on the president, for relinquishing all share in the salt trade, should absolutely determine and cease upon the first of September 1767.

As the trade of their servants was to be confined to the articles of export and import only, in which they would be greatly affected by the great demands for extending the company's investments; and considering the great increase of business in which their servants were necessarily engaged, and which demanded the utmost care and attention, they were come to a resolution to give them a reasonable encouragement to exert themselves with zeal and alacrity in their several departments; but which they were to look upon as a free gift from the hands of their employers, offered to them annually so long as the present revenue should remain with the company, and their behaviour should continue to merit such a reward; and they directed, that they should draw out an annual account of the sum received from the dewanee, deducting thereout the stipulated payment to the king, and the allowance to the nabobs and ministers; and also of the revenues of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong, and the Calcutta pergunnahs, from which were to be deducted Lord Clive's jaghire, and the ordinary charges of collection; and upon the amount of the said net revenues, they were thereby indulged to draw a commission of $2 \frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and that the sum which should be the produce of the said $2 \frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was to be divided into one hundred parts, or shares,

shares. The large proportion allowed to the governor of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was in consideration of his relinquishing, and not being concerned in any trade whatever, even in articles of import and export, and likewise of relinquishing all presents and gratifications, as expressed in the deed of renunciation, entered on by Lord Clive, approved and confirmed by the court of directors, who directed that all governors should execute the like instrument on their entering into their office; as their inducement for annexing so great an appointment to the station of president and governor, was in full expectation of his giving up his whole time and attention to the faithful discharge of his duty; and that being excluded from all trade himself, he might be vigilant in watching and detecting all abuses committed by others.. The shares of the commission were in addition to his salary of 3000l. per ann. and his mint duty, &c. The shares to the other servants were to be in addition to their salaries, diet money, and the posts they might respectively hold.

The court of directors, by their instructions to the supervisors, sent out in 1769, gave orders for preventing all monopolies in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and laid open the said trade to their servants, by declaring that it was their intention; that the said trade be laid open to all persons, as well natives as Europeans, and that English subjects should be permitted to trade therein, only upon the same footing, and under the same duties and restrictions as natives or other subjects.

These orders for opening the trade into execution, were afterwards repealed, by publishing the fol-

following notice : " That the honourable East India company had been pleased to lay open the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, throughout the Bengal provinces, and that all persons, whether Europeans or others, were hereby permitted to engage in it, subject to the regulations already enforced, and to such others as might hereafter be made by the members of the administration."

Not long after opening the trade in the manner before-mentioned, a certain native, named Harparam, declaring that he had acted on account of the governor and council, seized by force several parcels of salt, which being finally prepared, had the seal of the person to whom they belonged, which seal he took off, and in its stead affixed his own. Complaints of a similar nature had been made against Harparam for the same practices in forty-eight villages, which he did not deny ; and the seals so fixed appeared in many instances to be inscribed " Mr. Charles Floyer and company, Saheleung." This last word, is a word of authority, commanding respect.

The said resident informed the committee of the revenue, that having examined the orders which Harparam had received from his constituents, he found that he was directed only to make fair advances for salt, and to receive it as it was made, and put it into golahs. But without regard to equity and justice, he forced his advances on the Molangees, and on the strength thereof, had actually seized the salt contracted for, and delivered to other merchants, erasing the marks of the owners, and stamping that of his employers thereon. Such a lawless conduct merited a public and

and local punishment, as an example to others; because, if respect to the gentlemen by whom he was employed, and whose orders he had exceeded, the resident was induced to refrain from inflicting it, nevertheless he thought it his duty to send him to them, under a guard of seapoys, that upon examining the depositions of the salt-makers, they might take with him what measures they thought the nature of his offence required. It does not appear that farther proceedings were carried on in this business.

The committee appointed by the house of commons proceeded now to enquire into the abuses and mismanagement, by which the company's revenues had been diminished. They found that the company claimed large sums as owing to them by several persons for duties on salt and beetle-nut; and it was impossible to shew the nature and amount of these claims, without laying before the house a state of the several transactions on which they are founded.

They began by stating what were the duties on salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, before the company became possessed of the dewanee; they found by a report of Mahomet Reza Kawn, entered on the select committee's consultations, the 25th of December, 1767, that under the government of the nabobs, the duties on salt made in Bengal, was 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. paid by Musulmen, and 5 per cent. paid by Gentoos; they find also, there were certain duties paid on beetle-nut and tobacco, but they cannot ascertain by the correspondence of the company, what the rate of the said duties was, except that in the company's own lands, beetle-nut

appears to have paid a chokee duty from 5 16 to rupees per boat, according to the size ; and also a khallory rent of three rupees per khallory.

But in the year 1762, the president and council established a tax of 30 Sicca rupees, per khallory, and abolished all former duties. By the terms of the leases which were then granted, the farmers were obliged to take upon themselves the balances due by the Molangees to the renters for the last year : this was afterwards made a standing order ; and a claim being at that time made by the salt merchants of ancient balances due from the Molangees, the said claim was liquidated and fixed at 444,896 Arcot rupees ; and the governor and council agreed to pay this balance to the merchants ; but in order to re-imburse to the company the sums so paid, they laid a tax on the salt made at the said khallories, of ten Sicca rupees per hundred maunds. No material alteration was made in the above duties untill the establishment of the society and trade in 1765.

The court of directors, by their letter of the 1st of June, 1764, to the president and council at Fort William, ordered them to consult the nabob concerning the carrying on the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, and other articles, produced, and consumed in the country, in such manner as might be most to his satisfaction and advantage, and for the interest of the company and their servants ; and to form an equitable plan for carrying on the said trade ; and to transmit the same to them, accompanied with such explanations and remarks, as might enable them to give their sentiments thereupon, in a full and explicit manner. The select committee at Fort William, by their

minute of the 10th of August, 1765 resolved, that the whole of the inland trade should be carried on by an exclusive company, and that their exclusive right should commence the 1st of September following, and to continue to the 31st of August, 1766, and that all salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, produced in, and imported into Bengal, should be purchased by the said company, and that all other persons should be prohibited from dealing therein.

By a minute of the select committee of the 18th of September, 1765, it was then resolved, that the inland trade in the above articles should be subject to a duty to the company, after the following rates

On salt, 35 per cent valuing the 100 maunds at the rate of 90 Arcot rupees, and in consideration thereof, the present khallory duty to be abolished

On beetle nut, 10 per cent on the prime cost

On tobacco, 25 per cent on ditto

By this calculation the select committee hoped that a clear revenue of at least 100,000l per ann would be produced to the company, which minute of the select committee was confirmed by the noble president and council, the 25th of September following "

The select committee, in their letter to the court of directors, of the 30th of September, 1765, gave it as their opinion, that the said duties would produce a clear revenue of 120,000l sterling per ann

The committee appointed for managing this monopoly being two members of the select committee, and two of the council, solicited the noble president and council to grant them a deed to

secure to the proprietors of the said exclusive right, the free and sole purchase of salt, beetle nut, and tobacco, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, to the 31st of August, 1766, allowing sufficient time to dispose of such purchase for the season; which deed was then ordered to be prepared by the president and council. But it does not appear in the books and correspondence of the company, that the said deeds were transmitted to the court of directors.

After the establishment of the said society, the governor and council ordered several sums to be paid out of the treasury of the company to sundry people for salt balances; and the khallory's rents and salt duties in the company's own lands to the amount of 236,010 rupees, were appropriated by the society of trade to their own use, during the years 1765 and 1766.

Notwithstanding a letter of the court of directors, positively forbidding their servants to have any concern in the trade of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, whatever government might be established, or whatever unforeseen circumstances might arise, it was determined by the right honourable the president and the select committee, on the third of September 1766, to continue the exclusive society for the next year. They augmented the duty to be paid to the company on salt, to 50 per cent. and on beetle-nut to 15 per cent. which minute of the select committee was confirmed by the noble president and council.

The court of directors at last insisted on the abolition of this monopolizing and oppressive society, and that the inland trade should be totally relinquished,

quished ; but they were indulged, notwithstanding the command of the masters, by the governor and council, to enjoy their exclusive right one year longer, to dispose of their concerns, and under divers pretences the society was continued till September 1768.

The court of directors transmitted in 1767, regulations for carrying on the salt trade in future, and directed a duty upon it to be collected, so as to produce, upon the nearest estimation, no less than 100,000l. sterl. and no more than 120,000l. per annum, and if it was found necessary, all salt imported was to pay the same, or even a larger duty ; and all salt-makers were to deliver in every year, an account of the quantity made, and in what place the same was landed,

The governor and council proposed several regulations for the salt trade, and that a duty be laid on that commodity of 30 sicca rupees per 100 maunds, to be paid by the purchasers, which according to their estimate would produce, the sum required.

The resident at the durbar, the collector-general and the chief at Patna, were instructed to put in execution, the regulations for the securing the 30 per cent. duty on all such salt. They were also informed, that these regulations were meant only for the salt made last season, and not that belonging to the committee of trade, which was distinguished by its having a dustuck.

The following is the account received by the East-India company for duty on salt and beetle-nut, in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, from the first of September 1765, to June 18th, 1771.

The company received from the society of trade the following sums towards the first year's duties, and at the periods hereafter specified

| | | | |
|------|--------------|---------|-------------------------|
| 1766 | Sept 14 | Cur. R. | 200,000 |
| 1767 | October 8 | - | 250,000 |
| 1768 | April 8 | - | 350,000 |
| 1769 | May 31 | - | 120,000 |
| 1769 | September 13 | - | 31,000 |
| 1770 | March 29 | - | 106,121 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | 1,057,121 1 ft. 118,926 |

The company received from the society of trade an account of the duties for the second year the following sums, and at the time specified below.

| | | | | |
|------|------------|---|---|------------------------------|
| 1768 | February 3 | - | R | 220,000 |
| 1769 | May 31 | - | - | 180,000 |
| 1770 | May 31 | - | - | 25,000 |
| 1771 | June 18 | - | - | 90,000 |
| | | | | <hr/> |
| | | | | Cur R. 515,000 1 ft. 57,937. |

The company received on account of the new duties ordered to be collected in salt, and beetle nut at 30 rupees per 100 maunds for the year 1769 70

Sicca Rupees 254,271 1 sterl 33,183

The company received on the same account for the year 1770 71

Sicca Rupees 306,452 1 sterl 39 997
And Cur Rupees 53 995 1 sterl 6,299

256 342
The

The greatest receipt is salt by the society of trade in one year was, 2,936,420-6-10 maunds, which was in a favourable season, and they estimated 28 lacks of maunds as the quantity for fixing the duty ordered by the company to be collected, 50 per cent. with salt provided in the provinces of Bengal, and Bahar, and 15 per cent. on beetle nut, would according to the state of the salt trade at that time, produce to the company from 12 to 13 lacks of rupees per annum; from whence it follows, that the quantity of salt provided annually in Bengal and Bahar, was thus supposed to amount to about 28 lacks. The quantity of foreign salt imported into Bengal, do not prevent the whole of what is produced in the country from being consumed.

Upon the whole of these transactions, the committee observed, that if the company had received the revenue they were entitled to, upon the lowest calculations made; by their own servants, at the time the several duties were imposed upon salt and beetle-nut, they would have received as follows:

For the first year of the society of trade, from September 1765 to August 1766, according to the lowest estimate of the select committee

£ 100,000

For the second year of the society of trade from September 1766, to August 1767, according to the lowest estimate of the president of Fort William, when he proposed the continuance of the said society for another year £35,000 for the four subsequent years, according to the order of the court of directors, and the lowest estimate of the committee

appointed by the governor and council of Fort William, in 1763, at 100,000l: per annum,

£. 400,000

£. 635,000

When in fact the company received from the said duties, during the before-mentioned period no more than the sum of 256,342 l. and the payments of a principal part of this sum appear to have been made at periods distant from the time when they became due; the company's treasury was at the same time charged with the payment of several salt balances, and yet the society of trade received, for the two first years, the duty which had been imposed to reimburse the company the payment of salt balances of the like nature.

The court of directors resolved that the company solicitor, should in behalf of the company, prosecute the persons on whom they have demands on account of the duties on salt, beetle-nut and tobacco.

And certain taxes under the name of Mhatoot have been raised in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, which have not been included in the general statement of the company's revenues, nor brought to the company's account, except a small part which has been applied in defraying the expences of repairing banks and bridges.

The Mhatoot exhibits on one side, the amounts of sums collected since the English had acceded to the dewanee, by cesses under the name of Mhatoot, and on the other, the particulars of sundry expences

expences of the sircar, neither of which had appeared in the public records, the former having never been included in the general statement of the revenues, transmitted annually to Calcutta, nor the latter inserted in the treasury account, but both left under the management of the ministers. The reason why those cesses were established, and had been thus conducted appears in a letter of Mr. Sykes's to Mr. Becher, on that gentleman resigning the office of resident at the durbar. Mahomet Reza Kawn assured Mr. Sykes and the gentlemen who then composed the select committee, that such mode of collection was first adopted.

You will find, said Mr. Sykes in his letter dated the 16th of January, there are collections made separate from the statement, viz. on account of the expences of the poonah ; this mode of defraying these expences was established by lord Clive and the select committee, and why they were not included in the statement, that the company might have a fair account of their gross collections at one view, I cannot conceive. It must, I think, have arisen from the fear the gentlemen of the select committee had, that the company would not permit such an expence to be kept up at the poonah, notwithstanding it is deemed so necessary in the eyes of the country people, and always held with the utmost veneration.

In a letter from lord Clive, general Carnac, and Mr. Sykes, to Mr. Sumner and the gentlemen of the council, they expressed themselves in the following words, on account of the expences before-mentioned.

" We thought it by no means adviseable to deviate upon slight occasions from the established forms and customs of the anniversary of the poonah, and therefore accepted for ourselves and for you the usual presents of a dress and elephant to each, which shall be forwarded by the first opportunity. This expence has been formerly charged to the government, it must therefore now be brought to the company's account, but as the amount is very inconsiderable, it is scarce worth while to introduce any innovation that may tend to lessen our dignity in the eyes of the people.

If the custom of giving dresses to those who were employed in the collections, could not be abolished entirely with propriety, that expence might have certainly been greatly reduced.

With regard to the charges of repairing bridges, banking the sides of the river, who ever had gone up and down through Murshadabad by water, must be sensible of the very great expence of supporting the banks of the river, which to people in general, would appear a most unreasonable charge. Formerly these expences were defrayed by, and the conducting it entirely rested in particular zemindars, whose lands were contiguous to these banks and bridges, and the zemindars were proportionably eased in their rents, but even then on extraordinary events, great assistance was given by the government. On this footing, nearly things remained during the first two years of the company's holding the dewanee, and the extra expence was charged in the treasury account, in 1766. By the neglect and inability of the zemindars, the banks were found to have gone greatly to decay, and by some

some of them giving way, the country was overflowed, and the city of Murshadabad in September 1767, in the greatest danger; for which reasons an assessment which had before rested with particular zemindars, was extended to other districts.

Mr. Becher observed, that his predecessor had received from the cesses of Mhatoot, an allowance of 2000 rupees per month, and that on his applying to Mahomed Reza Kawn for an explanation of that charge, he acquainted him, that Mr. Sykes's table was supplied from the districts near the city of Murshadabad, with several articles of provision; but that inconveniences having attended that method, this custom was abolished, and Mr. Sykes received 2000 sicca rupees, as an equivalent. This allowance has been continued to the resident, and received by Mr. Becher, when he held that station; Mr. Verelst gave his approbation to this arrangement. It was also agreed, that for the future the dresses should be bestowed on none but the acting officers of government, and the members of the administration; and that the value should be reduced as low as the appearances would admit. That the presents to the mohuzes should be discontinued as far as could be effected, without creating in them a disgust to the service: that bearers should be allowed to those who travel on public duties, and to no others; that the sum of 350,000 rupees should be fixed on to be raised; that a statement of that sum should be formed separate, and that a new and equal assessment thereof should take place in each district, in proportion to its revenue, avoiding those partialities which had been too visible in the levying the Mhatoot.

It appearing that the 2,000 rupees per month mentioned in the resident's letter, was a part of the 3000 settled by lord Clive, but not recorded, the resident was justly called to an account.

All arbitrary taxes whatever, must be so many instruments of oppression in the power of collectors ; was it not so, how was it possible that the Mhatoot, a sum by no means considerable in itself, should be found so heavy and intolerable a burthen on that extensive country. Was it equitably divided amongst all the districts, it could not be called a grievance. The directors were therefore very solicitous to hear what progress the supervisors should make on that object of their inquiries, since they more than suspected the result would lay open a most iniquitous scene of oppression and peculation ; they were struck with a never-ceasing accumulation of expence, and upon referring to the charges incurred before the company's accession to the dewanee, they found them so small as 83,000 rupees ; but ever since that period, each year had swelled the account, till it had exceeded all bounds. They were sensible the custom of dresses made to the board, had been one cause, and the defraying occasional charges from the treasury, and not from the nabob's consummary, had been another still greater source of the increase. As to the first, the institution came from lord Clive, when he attended the first poonah, after the grant of the dewanee ; it was recommended by his lordship to the council, as a form that cost little, and was nevertheless essential to the dignity of the administration. It had been continued from that pretended motive, but interest, had a place in matters ever so trivial.

The

The grand abuse which had been encresing yearly, was in the admission of every rank to that honour, by which not only the charges had been augmented, but the intention of the custom itself perverted ; for from bestowing any' particular distinction on the members of the board, it had been the means of confounding all distinctions.

The new tax since the year 1767, having been imposed upon an extraordinary calamity, which had not happened for years before ; they saw no reason, after the banks had undergone one thorough repair, why so large a sum should still have been levied. As for the salary of the resident, it was settled by lord Clive and Mr. Sykes, without being recorded. It appeared that the whole of the sum expended in the course of five years, under the several heads to which the taxes called mhatoot were applied, amounted to sicca rupees 2,172,102 or l. sterl. 283,458.

Were the cesses collected in a less oppressive manner, they would yield a surplus towards the large debt due to the merchants. The governor and council of Fort William having opened the packet addressed to the supervisors, who were sent out in 1769, they found therein, amongst other instructions of the court of directors, an order, forbidding presents to be made on any occasion whatsoever, particularly at the time of the poonah, other than a few gold rupees, or such small taxes of friendship and respect as the ancient custom of the empire should have made necessary ; and the governor and council then came to several resolutions, which were signified to the committee of revenues at Murshadabad, to the following effect.

That

That the honourable the president should receive one khallant, not exceeding 5000 sicca rupees.

That the chief of the council at Murshadabad should receive one khallant, not exceeding in value 2000 sicca rupees. Each of the remaining eight members of the board at Calcutta, including the commander in chief of the forces should receive a sum not exceeding 1000 sicca rupees.

The members of council of revenue at Murshadabad, a sum not exceeding 500 sicca rupees.

That no other European should receive any present at the annual ceremony of poonah, but the present made to the nabob on account of his dignity, was not to be diminished.

That a khallant should be allowed to Mahomed Reza Kawn of 4000 sicca rupees, and the expence to the inferior officers of government, should be retrenched as much as possible.

The governor and council ordered in a subsequent letter that the expence of khallants to the officers of government to be reduced to 60,000 rupees.

The committee observing, as well from the letter of Mr. Becher before-mentioned, dated the 28th of March 1770, as from the letter of the select committee before-mentioned, of the 28th of April 1770, that there were the strongest reasons to suppose, that arbitrary cesses under the name of mhatoot, were levied by the collectors in several provinces, besides what were accounted for to the government at Murshadabad ; and that the select committee were, on that account, very solicitous to hear what progress had been made by the supervisors in this object of inquiry, since they more than suspected

pected the result would lay open a most iniquitous scene of oppression and speculation, as is before-mentioned; your committee thought it right to inquire what information had been transmitted to the court of directors, on the subject of mhatoot; and extraordinary collections made in the several districts of Bengal and Bahar; and they find, by a letter of Mr. Middleton from Dura, dated 18th of May 1771, who was then upon a progress into the said district, when the said district had paid a large annual mhatoot, which, in the statement transmitted by him, appears to have amounted to rupees 116,496,103; and he adds, that part of the money so collected, was remitted in the last year to Murshadabad, towards defraying the charges of Bha Khullaut, and that the remainder was disbursed and misapplied by the officers of the government at Decca, but that he had then abolished the mhatoot, and that the amount of it would be set forth as an article of increasing in the new settlement; and in another letter of Mr. Middleton's, dated 13th of April 1771, he says, that a company of seapoys and forty burgudasses, retained there for the use of the collections, had till then been paid from a fund accumulated under the denomination of mhatoot; and that the expences of the duakes established in that place, Murshidabad, Chittagong and part of the way to Calcutta, had been defrayed in the like manner.

The committee finds, that Mr. G. G. Ducarell, supervisor of Purnea, in his letter to Richard Becher, Esq; resident at the durbar, dated 17th of August 1769, represents, "That the company have received a very considerable revenue from that

1770, represents, " That besides the avowed wages to the aumils in our districts, they had numberless perquisites, the amount totally unascertainably, not consisting of a presentage on the collections, but chiefly in rusoons established, as to the articles but not the sums; not to mention what was gathered under the denomination of salamies;" and this supervisor states the mhatoot of his districts at rupees 12,191,8 and salamies at rupees 1579.

And Mr. G. G. Ducarel, the supervisor of Purnea, in a letter on Murshadabad consultations, of the 13th December 1770, represents, " That it has been annually the custom there, even long antecedent to our coming to the dewanee, at the time when the ryotts had nearly paid their rents, according to the detta or agreement, to lay on further assessments there, called bharre and gundar, (which are words peculiar to that province, and have the same meaning at Mhatoot in Bengal) either from real or pretended deficiencies: that arbitrary fines, under the name of Aboal Foudigarg, were an intolerable vexation to all orders of people, and one source of the appearance of poverty, which all men in the districts are desirous of putting on, and consequently a great check to industry, by preventing those who had money from employing it with freedom; that these fines were farmed as part of the jumna or rent-roll of each purgannah, and those of the town of Purra to the cutwall. The farmer who was benefited by the fine, was himself the judge of the delinquent, and of the degree of the penalty to be inflicted, which was levied, not according to the nature of the crime, but of the circumstances of the accused. That theft and mur-

that country, but they have little known how it has been collected; you will be surprized to hear, that by the established mode of collections pursued for these three or four years past; the sounta or agreement, is never preserved between the collector and the tenant, at the end of the year; wherever the farmer knows that the latter has made any gain, he surely seizes it, notwithstanding the agreement being justly paid; by these means all industry is checked, and all confidence destroyed; and neither labourer, farmer, collector, and so upward to the souzedars, having any trust in each other, it has made the whole a chain of rogues and plunderers; nor can any confidence be restored but by a long course of equitable government." And the supervisor of Rungpore, in his letter to the said Richard Becher, Esq; dated 20th of August, 1770, represents, " That the bundibust of the province of Rungpore, was rupees 917,250, of which only 632,797 were remitted to the city: that 1,010,000, was collected in the musulul; that charges had amounted to rupees 520,000: that the zemindars and farmers had been excused 149,000, on account of the drought; but that the poor ryots, who were people that would receive every encouragement, especially in such hard times, had benefited nothing by the allowance, the whole having been collected from them; and also 92,000 rupees, which Mahmud Hussein put on, under the head of mhatoot, and which, he believes, was received by the zemindars and creatures of government employed in the collections." An Mr. Robert Wilmot, supervisor of Jessore, in a letter on Musladabad consultations of the 29th October

1776, represents, "That besides the avowed wages to the aumils in our districts, they had numberless perquisites, the amount totally unascertainably, not consisting of a presentage on the collections, but chiefly in rulsoons established, as to the articles but not the sums; not to mention what was gathered under the denomination of salamies;" and this supervisor states the mhatoot of his districts at rupees 12,191,8 and salamies at rupees 1579.

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der were frequently compounded for four or five rupees, whilst fornication and witchcraft were punished with 4 or 5000 : that there was a particular sort of people whose profession was the discovery of witchcraft ; those accusations in other countries are wholly confined to the old and impotent ; here they fall generally on the rich and substantial : that there were also others, particularly women, who lived by the discovery of fornication and adultery ; and the slightest evidence was sufficient to warrant a fine to the extent of the circumstances of the accused. That when he gave an abatement to the farmers, it was on condition of their giving up, amongst others, this oppressive part of the juma : that there were then positive orders to take no fines, but such as were approved at the Sunder Adawlet, but that an evil long established is always difficult to eradicate. He now and then heard of some infractions of this order, by the moffusal zemindars, which he never failed to punish in an exemplary manner ; and this he hoped would in time put a stop to so destructive a practice."

And Mr. George Vansittart, the supervisor of Dinagepore, in his letter entered on Murshidabad consultations of the 31st December 1770, represents, "That embezzlements there the year before, amounted to no less than sunnut rupees 169,662 ; but that as great part of it had been dissipated amongst upwards of fifty thasildars, and their underlings, it was of course irrecoverably lost : that the amount collected was sunnut rupees, 2,157,318.

The committee find, that the exactation of exorbitant interest for money lent to the zemindars and others,

others, has been another cause of diminution of the revenues of the company in Bengal.

The committee find, by a letter of M. R. Cawn, entered on select consultations, the 5th of October 1765, that the said M. R. Cawn complains of the loss which the revenues sustains, by the dependents of the factories lending money to the zemindars and talookdars, and by their protecting them on that account from the power of the aumils; he therein applies to the president to write to the gentlemen of the factories therein mentioned, that none of the dependants of the said factories do lend money to the zemindars, &c. without the knowledge of the aumils.

The committee find, that the select committee of Bengal, as appears by their minute of 25th of October of the same year, then issued positive orders to the chief of subordinates, and commanding officers of brigades, prohibiting them, and others acting under them in inferior stations, from lending money to the zemindars, or other servants of government, on the security of lands, by lease or mortgage; and the said select committee, by their minute of the 31st of October 1766, having received advice that this order had been transgressed to the great detriment of the collections; resolved to enforce the said order, and directed that no money should in future be lent, except upon respondentia, on any pretence whatsoever, at higher interest than twelve per cent. per annum; and all the sums of money outstanding at an higher premium, should be recalled on the 11th day of April following.

The committee find, that Mr. Reid in his letter to the chief and council of revenue at Murshadabad, dated the 20th of December, 1770, represents, " That the exorbitant interest paid for money taken up for payment of revenues, fell very heavy on the zemindars, and often in the end on government, and was an evil called aloud for remedy ; that the avowed interest of thirty-seven and one half per cent. at that place, was still raised in the articles of batta and rusum on bonds ; but in some of the districts it was carried to so enormous a height as to be scarce creditable ; that no produce of the lands could bear so great a charge, and in the end zemindars must be ruined, and rendered unable to pay his revenue ; that it had indeed been the practice to pay money, so taken up, out of the ensuing revenue, so that in effect the government pays the interest, and it would be more for its advantage even to delay the collections a month, then to receive them with so heavy, a future charge."

And Mr. Middleton, in his letter from Decca, dated 18th of May, 1771, represents, " That the country had greatly depopulated by the oppressive practices of the officers, to enable them to fulfil their engagements with merchants, of whom they borrow money, for payment of the revenue ; which, he adds, is done at a most exorbitant and unheard of premium, and that every inconvenience resulting from this pernicious custom, ultimately entered with the ryotts, who unable to answer the unlimited demands which the officers of government were continually making upon them, were driven to the necessity of deserting

ing the country, by which means a considerable quantity of land lays waste and uncultivated."

The committee find, that the taking of leases of lands by the servants of the company, and sometimes in cases where they were themselves intrusted with the management of the said revenues, and with the letting of the said leases, has been another cause of the diminution of the revenues of the company of Bengal.

It appears to your committee, by a minute of general consultations of Fort William, the 31st of July, 1759, that when the governor and committee let the land of Calcutta Purgunnahs for three years, by public auction, some of the company's servants took and leased a part of the lands of the said Purgunnahs.

The committee find, by a letter of the court of directors, of the 23d of March, 1759, that the said court then prohibited their covenant servants from holding any lands, towns or villages, directly or indirectly, within or without the company's jurisdiction, adding, " That their reasons for this restraint were so obvious, that an explanation was unnecessary :" but it appears, that this letter did not arrive in Bengal, till after the leasing the lands of the Calcutta Purgunnahs in manner before-mentioned.

The committee find, that the court of directors, by a letter of 13th of March, 1761, revoked the before mentioned restriction, and informed the governor and council, that if they were perfectly satisfied that no inconveniences could arise from the company's servants farming any part of the newly

newly acquired lands, they should not object to it; but that the governor and council must assign their reasons to the court of directors for their observation.

And it appears to the committee, that farms were afterwards held by the company's servants, both in Calcutta Purgunnahs, and in the districts ceded by Cossim Aly Khwan.

The committee find, in a letter of Mr. Verelst, supervisor of Burdwan, on the 13th of September 1765, that the said supervisor represents, "That after the heavy losses and real detriment the first outcry had proved of, to the whole province of Burdwan, he was greatly surprized to find, on his arrival, that they had been again exposed to public sale, however, purchasers had only been found for about twenty two lacks of rupees; so great was the prejudice taken at a former sale, and the whole of that very considerably under the jumma-hundy of 1160, excepting the farms lately held by Messrs Johnstone, Hay, and Blots, on which a great advance was bid; the rest of the provinces, for which there were no biders, became coss," or fell into the hands of government.

The committee find, in a letter of the court of directors, of the 17th of May 1766, that the said court of directors, in answer to the before-mentioned paragraph of Mr. Verelst's expressed themselves in the following manner: "We have on a former occasion, in our letter of the 13th of March 1761, permitted our servants to bid at the public sale of the Calcutta lands, but we could not conceive such an indulgence could ever be construed to admit servants employed in the

the collection of the revenues of a province to select out the most profitable lands for themselves; for such is the light in which this transaction appears to us, and it is one more striking proof of the general corruption with which all ranks were tainted and of the ill use that has been made of every indulgence: we direct a strict scrutiny into this affair, and if it proves true, that you will make a proper example of the offenders, by dismissing them our service. This transaction convinces us of the necessity of shutting the door to abuses, and we thereupon positively order, that no covenanted servant, or Englishman residing under our protection should be suffered to hold any lands for his own account, directly or indirectly, in his own name, or that of others, or to be concerned in any farms or revenues whatsoever."

The committee find in the before mentioned letter of M. R. Khawn, entered on select consultations, 5th of October, 1765, that the said M. R. Khawn, therein applied to the president to write to the gentlemen of certain factories therein-mentioned, that none of the dependants of the said factories should hold any farms, or interfere in the affairs of the country.

The committee find, by the before-mentioned minute of select committee, of the 5th of October, 1765, that in consequence of the before-mentioned representation of M. R. Khawn, the select committee prohibited the servants of the company from holding lands.

The committee don't find in the correspondence of the company, any evidence to shew, that the servants of the company in Bengal, hold lands at present in their own names, but they have met with circumstances which afford ground to suspect that the company's servants sometimes share with their banyans in the profits of lands rented by them, and in one instance, which they will mention hereafter, they find that this practice is directly asserted by the banyan, who held the lands, and to shew to the house in what manner many of the abuses before-mentioned still exist in Bengal, to the diminution of the company's revenues, and oppression of the country ; a copy of the consultations of the council of revenue at Murshadabad, from the second of September 1771, to the 23d of March 1772, respecting the conduct of one of his majesty's British subjects employed in the company's service in Bengal, was produced to your committee : it contains the complaint of the supervisor of the district Rungpoore, against the said subject for imprisoning zemindars and their naibs. It contains the proceedings of the said council of revenue, under the direction of the governor and council of Fort William, to bring the said subject to a trial before a court martial, for disobedience of orders for which your committee find he was acquitted by the said court-martial. It contains the several auzes or petitions of the zemindars, farmers and natives of Rungpoore, accusing the said subjects of extortion and oppression, in various instances, the detriment of the revenue ; it contains the inquiries made by the said council of revenue, under the direction of the governor and

and council at Calcutta, into the complaints exhibited by the zemindars, farmers, and natives, against the said subjects and the depositions of the natives who are examined on oath, and frequently in the presence of the accused, in support of these charges.

The several allegations contained in the said auzes or petitions, or in the said depositions, are, that the person so accused, having agreed to accept of five per cent. interest per mensem, for money lent by him to the parties before-mentioned, he afterwards raised the same to fourteen per cent. per mensem, and enforced the payment thereof by acts of cruelty and oppression; that a mhatoot of seventy-five thousand rupees was established in the district of Rungpore, by the intervention of his banyan, called Conge Bahara Holdar, and part of it collected in his master's name, and received by him, of which mhatoot was openly paid into the public cutcherie, and entered in the officers books, that the person so accused shared in the profits of farms held by his banyan, that the person so accused appointed his servants and dependents to act in a judicial court of Fouzdar, that Chiton Sirdar, who was in the service of the accused, made frequent excursions into the province, attended by sepoys, in which excursions they seized and bound the ryotts, and, by falsely accusing them of theft, adultery, robbery and other crimes, extorted from them great sums of money, and vast quantities of other valuable effects; that whole villages had been plundered by them, and that in particular the substantial ryotts were there customary prey, and that to

possess ten ploughs, was a crime, or reason sufficient for being so plundered.—And lastly, the proceeding above-mentioned contained an inquiry into the conduct of the before-mentioned supervisors of Rungpore, and other persons therein mentioned, in consequence of a charge brought against them for improper conduct in leasing the lands of the Rungpore.

The committee think proper to observe, that the proceedings of the council of revenue, in the case above-mentioned, were not finished when the last ships were dispatched from Bengal: the party accused had not then made his defence, and these proceedings were not in the nature of a trial, the council of the revenue, at Murshadabad, before whom they were had; having no power for that purpose, but of an inquiry to investigate the facts so alledged.

The committee have not annexed to this report, the proceedings of the council of revenue, in the case above-mentioned, nor any papers relative thereto, which are numerous and long, thinking that they may more properly be brought before the house separately, if, upon the before-mentioned representation of the case to which they relate, the house shall think it proper to order any further proceedings thereupon.

And, lastly, The committee enquired, whether there was any evidence in the books or correspondence of the company, to shew that any other of his Majesty's British subjects had committed the like offences; and, Mr. Wilkes, informed the committee, that he had not found, in the books and correspondence of the company, evidence sufficient

sufficient to charge any other British subject with the like offences.

And the committee think proper here to observe, that in this, and their former reports, they have not stated any facts, but such as they found in the books or correspondence of the company, which they carefully examined for that purpose, or such as appeared to them to be proved by other evidence laid before them; but, in cases where it was necessary for them to be proved, that any particular fact or information was not to be found in the books or correspondence of the company, they have been forced to rely on the evidence of the sworn servants of the company; who, in their respective departments, must be presumed to know all that is contained therein; for it was impossible for the committee to peruse all the books and correspondence to be found at the India House, that any ways relate to the concerns of the company, during the many years to which their inquiry extends.'

The company's revenues arising from the different provinces, and purgannahs of Subah Bahar, from September 1766, to August 1767, amounted 6,186,276 sicca rupees.

The court of directors in a general letter to the president and council at Fort William, express thus their dissatisfaction :

" When we advert to the encomiums you have passed on your own abilities and prudence, and on your attention to the company's interest, (in the expostulations you have thought proper to make on our appointment of commissioners to superintend our general affairs in India) we cannot but observe with

with astonishment, that an event of so much importance, as the death of the nabob Seyf al Dowlah, and the establishment of a successor in so great a degree of non-age, should not have been attended with these advantages for the company, such circumstances offered to our view.

We mean not here to disapprove the preserving the succession in the family of Meert Jaffier ; on the contrary, both justice and policy recommend a measure which at once corresponds with the customs and inclinations of the people of Bengal : but when we consider the state of minority of the new Subah, we know not in what grounds it could have been thought necessary to continue to him, the stipend allotted to his adult predecessors.

Convinced as we are, that an allowance of sixteen lacs per annum. will be sufficient for the support of the nabob's state and rank, while a minor ; we must consider every addition thereto as so much to be wasted on a herd of parasites and sycophants, who will continually surround him ; or at least be hoarded up, a consequence still more pernicious to the company. You are therefore, during the non-age of the nabob, to reduce his annual stipend to sixteen lacs of rupees ; and this we have the greater reason to require, as we find ourselves subjected to the payment of large sums, due from the revenues of the dewanee, before the company became possessed theretofore, on account of the navy donation, and the arrears of that to the army ; the balance due for restitution to Europeans, colonel Munro's demand of two lacs, the debt due to Bolokidafs ; and the annual sum of one lac for ten years, which we have agreed to pay to Juggut

Seat ; all which press on us with such united force, that our treasury will be unable to satisfy those several demands without wounding our commercial interest, and endangering our possessions in Bengal. Being once relieved from this load of incumbrances, the savings we may expect from this reduction, will properly become a fund for military exigencies ; which fund being solely applicable to the defence of the province, will contribute no less to the nabob's future benefit than to that of the company.

At a time when every justifiable measure should be adopted for availing the public and the company of all the advantage we had in prospect from our possession of the dewanee ; we cannot but reflect on the dissipation of a considerable part thereof, by the allowances to the nabob's ministers.

And here we must observe, that how great soever the application of Mahomed Reza Kawn, and his adherence to the company's interest may have been, his rewards have been more than adequate thereto : and as the business of the collections of our revenues, when they shall have been thoroughly investigated by the supervisors appointed for that purpose, will require little or no assistance from that minister, we must deem the continuance of his present salary, as a waste of those resources which are become so essentially necessary both for the security of our possessions, and the extension of your investments, it is therefore our pleasure, that the annual allowance of nine lacs, which he has hitherto enjoyed, be no longer continued to him ; but as the ministry of the nabob will make it requisite for you to appoint us his guardian, a person of expe-

experience in the affairs of government, and of approved attachment to the company's interest, your choice must rest on Mahomed Reza Kawn ; and you are to allow him whilst in that station, a salary of five lacs of rupees per annum, which we consider not only as suitable to such station, but as a munificent reward for the services he may render the company in the execution of his office.

The annual allowance to Juggut Seat, as assistant to Mahomed Reza Kawn, has been a drain on our revenues, without the least benefit from his administration ; for we are well assured, that he has never afforded us a single instance of service ; his allowance therefore must be immediately struck off. But with regard to Roy Doolub, though we cannot expect from him any services equal to his present appointment, yet in consideration of the part he has long held in the affairs of government and his advanced age, we are disposed to continue the salary he now enjoys, but on his death, this allowance is not to be given to any person whatever."

At a select committee, present, lord Clive, president, Harry Verelst, Esq; brigadier general Carnac, Francis Sykes, Esq; December 31, 1766. Mahomed Reza Kawn representing to us the great expence which he necessarily incurs in supporting the dignity and influence of his station ; an expence which he has hitherto defrayed by receiving these perquisites and emoluments usually annexed to his office ; and desiring that we will now assign to him a stated salary and provision, which he thinks will prove more honourable to himself, and advantageous to the revenue.

And

And the committee taking into serious consideration the great importance of Mahomed Reza Kawn's particular station, which is that of naib dewan and prime minister ; the extraordinary zeal and ability he has shewn in the discharge of his office ; the expediency of maintaining him in the full influence due to his rank, and the benefit to the revenue that will accrue from cutting off all secret advantages and perquisites, which so evidently open a door to manifold acts of fraud and oppression.

Resolved, That in lieu of all the perquisites and emoluments hitherto received by Mahomed Reza Kawn and the other ministers, agreeable to the custom of the country, there shall in future be assigned for their maintenance and support, an annual salary of twelve lacks of rupees ; the same to be deducted from the monthly collections, and divided between Mahomed Reza Kawn, Roy Dool-lub and Setabray, in such manner and in such proportions, as shall be settled by the president, and the payment to commence on the last day of January next.

Stoppages were made afterwards out of stipends, on account of the famine; it appearing to the committee highly necessary and reasonable that the tribute stipends and all extraordinary issues whatever, should give place to the more urgent calls of government.

Resolved, that Mr. Becher be directed to withhold at least thirty licks from the tribute, and other allowances, so that the receipts and disbursements may have some proportion to each other ; that he be informed, with the assistance of this

this reserved sum, he will continue to pay the brigades at Barampore, in garrison at Mongheer, and all other charges of his department, and that the civil and military charges of the presidency, are the utmost which can be defrayed from the treasury of Calcutta

In consequence of this resolve, the following letter was wrote to Mr Becher, resident at the Durbar

" With concern, we observe, the great and alarming disproportion of your receipts to your disbursements, and at the same time we lament the calamities which have attended this country. We have no consolation, or resource, but in the hopes of better and more favourable seasons, in the mean while, we must struggle with our necessities, and endeavour by all possible retrenchments and stoppages to reduce our disbursements within the narrowest limits

In conjunctures like this, necessity compels us to make the conveniences of dependants, and even the letter of engagements subservient to the exigencies of state. The minister who enjoys such great appointments, ought more particularly to give way to the times, and it would be a ridiculous and unprecedented maxim to regard any tribute, or stipend, before the support of our own government. The exact sum which should be withheld from each article, we would not precisely determine, but we expect that you will at least, keep back thirty lacs, that sum being no more than common prudence dictates we should retain in our hands, to bring our funds and expences on some equality, and

and the more especially since the expences are certain, and the funds precarious.

In consequence of these orders, which Mr. Becher communicated to Mahomed Reza Khawn, the stipends and allowances were kept at least thirty lacs in arrears.

Lord Clive acquainted the committee, that the two Seats, sons of those who were cut off by Cossim Ally Khawn, and fell a sacrifice to the English company, had laid a claim amounting to between fifty and sixty lacs of rupees, thirty lacs of which had been lent to the zemindars ; they did not think the government answerable for, but that their claim of twenty one lacs, which were lent to the Nabob Meer Jaffier, for the support of his and the English army, was in their opinion just and reasonable : however, as it would be inconsistent with equity, now that the revenues of the country are appropriated to the company, to propose that the Nabob should pay the whole, they have thought proper to agree, that the said sum be discharged by the company and the Nabob, in equal payments, within the space of ten years, viz. one lac of rupees per annum each, for the first nine years, and one lac and a half each, for the tenth, or last year.

The board entirely concurred in sentiments with Lord Clive, respecting the justness of the Seat's claim to twenty-one lacs of rupees, lent to the late Nabob Meer Jaffier, for the support of his and the English army ; and think, that the means they have proposed for the payment of it in equal proportions, by the company and the Nabob, at certain stated periods, are very fair

and equitable. With respect to the thirty ^{lacks} of rupees lent to the zemindars, we are of opinion, they can only be considered in the light of a private loan, and therefore the government, or company are by no means answerable for the same. An agreement was made, jointly with the Nabob, to discharge the debt due from the government to the Seat's; that family having suffered so much in the company's cause, are peculiarly entitled to our protection. The Nabob paid to Jugget Seat 1,050,000 current rupees, and the company paid the same sum, which together made 2,100,000 rupees.

And the balance due was 1,038,624--4 rupees. The president and council of Calcutta received a letter from commodore Tinker, enclosing the translation of a letter from the nabob, with a grant of 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ lacks of rupees, which he had granted to the squadron, in consideration of their services, and requesting their assistance for procuring the payment thereof agreeable to the terms.

Translation of the letter from the Nabob to Mr. Tinker, dated 8th October 1764.

"Whereas you arrived here in occasional time, and afforded me your assistance, I have, herewith sent you inclosed a paper for 12,500,000 rupees, which will be paid you according to agreement. Whatever is right you will take for yourself, and the rest you will divide in a proper manner among the squadron."

A true copy of the translation.

Bladen Tinker.
The

The president and council acquainted the commodore, that they were glad the nabob had thought proper to consider the services of the squadron ; and so far as it might appear to them in his power, consistent with the performance of the engagements of his treaty, that Mr. Tinker may depend on their assistance for procuring the punctual payment of the grant he has passed farther repeating their acknowledgements to him for the readiness he testified, in co-operating with them for the company's service, since he came to Bengal ; and requesting he will communicate our thanks also, to all the officers and men of the squadron.

From an extract of the company's general letter, dated April 26, 1765, to Bengal, it seems it was currently reported that an agreement had been made between the late governor and council of Fort William, since the treaty concluded with him on the 10th of July 1763, by which it was stipulated, that the nabob should pay, over and above the thirty lacks for the company mentioned in that treaty, 40 lacks by way of restitution, to make good the losses of private persons ; besides 25 lacks to the army, and 12 lacks to the navy, not named in that treaty, making together the enormous sum of 107 licks of rupees, which is above one million three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

It is a very extraordinary circumstance, that there was no mention made in any of the letters from the governor and council, of what sum was to be given by the nabob to make good the private losses ;

losses ; although they mentioned they had regulated the payment of the restitution to the merchants, which implied they being in possession of a fund for that purpose. If the reports as to the sum stipulated to be given for this use; and also by way of donation to the army and navy were true, they purposely omitted to acquaint the directors of the particular amount, from an apprehension that they could never approve of an agreement with the nabob of this consequence, and for such excessive large sums of money, without advising them thereof, and giving very good reasons for a proceeding, which so nearly affected the honour and interest of the company. Indeed, considering the present state of the country, involved for years past, in continual wars, and drained of its riches and the blood of it's inhabitants, it was impossible to suppose the company's servants capable of adding so greatly to its miseries, by compelling, or even persuading the nabob to pay such exorbitant sums of money, and at a time, when by all accounts he was himself in distress.

' We do expect and require from you,' said the directors in the same letter, a particular account of every sum received from the Nabob by way of donation, or under any other denomination, by any and each of our servants civil and military, whether by agreement in writing, or otherwise ; in what manner it was obtained, and for what services, and that you immediately transmit to us copies of all such agreements, and the particular account of losses given in by each individual, together with what proportion has been already paid ; and we positively forbid any further payment till you receive our farther orders.

We

We do require from you, and we have a right so to do, a just and precise account of this whole extraordinary transaction ; the honours and reputation of the company, and even of the nation are at stake; and when those particulars, if true, come to be known, they require the fullest and most explicit explanation and justification. We can only express our astonishment that such things have been, as we cannot suggest to ourselves upon what principles the present Nabob could be expected, persuaded, or required, to make good the losses sustained by individuals in carrying on, to their great imputation, and the prejudice of the company they served, a most illicit and unwarrantable, although to them a most lucrative trade, in the articles of salt, beetle nut, and tobacco ; and we are as much at a loss to comprehend, how the services rendered to the new nabob, could deserve so exorbitant a consideration, to be given to those who were only doing their duty in the service of their king and country, and of this company."

And in a sepearte letter, dated 24th December 1765, "We express," said they, "our astonishment at the report then current, that 40 lacks had been demanded for private restitution, and ordered you to detain whatever was paid on that account. We see but too much reason to confirm that order; for it appears to us, a most flagrant abuse of our power, to the oppression of the nabob and his country.

Although it was thought fit to confirm the treaty made with Jaffier Ally Kawn in 1757, because the capture of the settlement had involved the inhabitants in one general ruin ; and without such restitution,

it must have sunk under the calamity, or it would have been the work of many years to restore it to a flourishing condition ; no such circumstances existed in the present case, yourselves aggressors in the war, and in a great measure brought on by an illicit trade. Our displeasure at this proceeding is infinitely aggravated by the time and manner in which the demand was made. Your first demand was for 20 lacs, for which you were content to demand an assignment : you soon after increased the demand to 40 lacs, to which the nabob was compelled to consent, on condition it should stop there : you then increased the demand to 53 lacs; to which exorbitant sum it is raised, by flinging in your outstanding debts, forcing the nabob to make part payment, and pressing him with the utmost severity for further payment, at the very period when the company's affairs were in the most critical situation, before the battle of Buxar decided whether we should not be extirpated the country ; and at the same time, were distressed for money to carry on the war, and the investment borrowing the very money paid by the nabob to our servants at an interest of eight per cent. You were in actual possession of claims for restitution, to the amount of $47\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees. We cannot therefore but be astonished, that you did not send us copies thereof ; and by your not doing it, it seems as if it was industriously intended to keep us in the dark, both with respect to the names of the claimants, and the particulars of their respective demands. It seems the donation to the army was 25 lacs, and that of the navy $12\frac{1}{2}$ lacs. When we

con-

- consider the circumstances of the nabob and the company at the period the demand was made for the army, we cannot but consider this then an act of the most violent oppression. The example of the 50 lacs given by Meer Jaffier on the revolution in his favour in 1757, will by no means justify this; we were then at open war with the nabobⁱ of the country; if we were victorious, the army might pretend to the plunder of the capital, which would have defeated the end; the treasury was supposed to be very rich, and the nabob in condition to afford it. In the present case no such circumstance existed; you was but to restore the same men you had before deposed, and you could expect only an empty treasury; a country involved in war, and the company struggling under every difficulty: we don't mean to take from the merit of the army, but no service in the world was equal to ours by the great advantages that attended actual service from the batta and other indulgencies allowed them.

There was no just pretension to any such demand, and the experience you had of the fatal effects of the donation given on the former occasion, which destroyed more than half the army by the excesses it led them to, and the remissness of discipline which ensued, should have warned you of the danger of such gratifications; but yet flagrant as the conduct of those who demanded or countenanced this measure appears to us, every circumstance is heightened in the demand of 12 £ lacs for the navy, whose ships did no service but that of laying by the walls, and of their men only a small detachment did duty with the artillery.

There

There is such a want of humanity in the distresses thus wantonly heaped on the Nabob, that your conduct will be for ever a stain on the nation, and is enough to raise enmities to us in every part of Indostan. Your copies sent home are unfaithful registers of all those transactions : we direct you to send us such a full and explicit account of every particular, that we may not be at a loss to form a true judgment of, and take the proper measures upon so injurious a proceeding."

Sir Samuel Cornish, and commodore Tinker, claimed from the nabob of Bengal twelve lack, and a half of rupees, or about 150,000l. sterling, in behalf of his majesty's royal navy officers and seamen, which his father, the late nabob Meer Jaffier, promised them by a written grant given under his hand, as a present for the assistance they gave him against Meer Cossim and Sujah Dowlah, in conjunction with the army, which has been since confirmed by his son and successor, to the subahship. Meer Jaffier dying before the payment of any part of the said grant became due, these gentlemen applied to a general court of proprietors for their assistance in recovering the money. As the present nabob had then a stipulated allowance out of the company's dewanee, and was consequently rendered incapable to discharge his father's engagements, they could not compel him to fulfil them. Whereupon Henry Vansittart, esq. having explained the circumstances of that transaction, during his presidency in Bengal, it was resolved unanimously, " That it be recommended to the court of directors, to cause so much of the donation to the navy as can be recovered, to be paid

paid out of the arrears of the revenues due to the nabob of Bengal ; and for so much as they shall fall short of the amount of the said donation, the same be paid out of the company's dewannees, at such reasonable times as shall be most convenient to their affairs."

Whereupon Sir Samuel Cornish and captain Tinker, on behalf of the claimants, expressed their grateful sentiments of the court's generous disposition towards them.

Mr. Sykes was directed to enquire strictly into the balances due to government, and to use every possible endeavour to recover them, as the company entertained the most flattering hopes, that from these arrears will arise a fund sufficient to discharge all the public demands on the late nabob, for which their honour stood any way engag'd.

The nabob, Meer Jaffier, having agreed to make restitution to the English merchants, and other persons under the English protection, for their losses in the war with Cossim Ally Kawn, as expressed in the following article, the tenth in the treaty, 1763, viz.

" I will reimburse to all private persons the amount of such losses, proved before the governor and council, as they may sustain in their trade in the country. If I should not be able to discharge this in ready-money, I will give assignments of lands for the amount of which sums three-fourths were paid by the nabobs, part by Meer Jaffier before his death, and part by his successors, when the revenues from whence the other payments were to arise, fell into the possession of the East-India company."

It was therefore resolved, by a general court of proprietors, "That orders should be forthwith sent to the governor and council at Bengal, for the immediate payment out of the revenues of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, of what remains unpaid of the said restitution money, to the several persons to whom it is due, according to their claims, as admitted and liquidated by the committee formerly appointed by the governor and council for that purpose. It appeared from the proceeding of the committee of restitution in Bengal, that the amount of the established claims on that behalf was current rupees.

5,457,034-10-10

| | |
|--|----------------|
| That there had been received from the nabob thereof - | 4,146,018 10 9 |
| And that there had been paid to the several claimants the sum of - - - - - | 4,141,215 8 7 |
| So that remained in the hands of the agents only - - - - - | 48,032 2 2 |

It also appeared that no further sum was received from the nabob before his death towards the discharge of the remaining quarter part of the said claims, amounting to current rupees 1,311,016-1; nor since his death was any part received of the effects of which he died possessed. Under these circumstances the court unanimously resolved to offer it as their opinion to the general court,

"That the court of directors being advised by their counsel, upon a full state of the case, that the claimants have no right, either in law or equity, to call upon the company for restitution of such losses

losses as shall appear to have been sustained by the inland trade in salt, beetle nut and tobacco ; and that it will be highly improper, and inconsistent with the interest of the company either to order the payment of the said balance from the dewanee revenues, or to give any sanction or authority to claim the same from the present nabob ; and they therefore recommend it to the general court, that as such claims are persisted in, the same may be decided by a decree of the high court of chancery ; and then it will be determined, whether the trade carried on by the company's servants, in salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, is, or is not, a breach of their covenants and illegal.

The general court came at last to the resolution, that the balance unpaid to the claimants of the restitution fund be paid in Bengal, as far as the state of the company's treasury would admit. This court, at the request of the claimants, was held previous to the departure of the supervisors for India.

By this resolution a discretionary power was vested in the company to pay this money, when the state of their treasury would admit ; no money was to be paid on this account till further orders.

The agents for the navy donation, on the expiration of the time stipulated for payment of the second moiety, applied to the governor and council of Bengal, for the same. As their treasury would not admit of so large a deduction, they were offered interest bonds for the amount. The agents consented to the acceptance of the bonds, on condition of having bills granted, when the treasury might be open.

These

'These bills were drawn at 365 days sight, and to bear an interest of three per cent. per annum, after the expiration of the first 90 days.

Mahomed Reza Kawn made a representation to Lord Clive, relative to his jaghire; his lordship had been informed that he had taken out of the province of Bahar for his jaghire ; some rich and opulent districts, the revenues of which amounted to four lacs of rupees a year.

" My lord," said he, " you were pleased, out of your favour to me, to confer upon me a jaghire, and I am persuaded it is not your intention that it should be an impoverished ruined district. I diligently exert myself night and day in managing the affairs of the sircar, and by the blessing of God and your auspices, the state of disorder in which they were involved will be removed."

A jaghire was a grant of such a number of duam, valued at a stated sum, and in particular purgunnahs therein mentioned, given by the king to such persons who had distinguished themselves in his service. These so endowed formerly kept up a number of troops ready to march to his assistance; this custom has been long neglected, and jaghires are now bought of the king's ministers.

The court of directors, who, in consequence of Lord Clive's misrepresentations, censured Mr. Vansittart as the promoter of a revolution prejudicial to the company's interest, had on account of this very event, allowed him two and one half per cent. on the neat revenues of the company.

As the great increase of our revenues, said they in a letter dated May 13th, 1763, arising out

out of the provinces, granted us by Cossim Ally Kawn, and the vast improvements of those revenues are principally owing to the wise, prudent and disinterested conduct of president Vansittart ; we think it but reasonable, that he who preferring our interest to all other considerations, should participate in those benefits he has been so instrumental in acquiring for us.

We therefore direct, that so long as Mr. Vansittart shall continue in the government of Bengal, he be allowed the commission mentioned before, and that the payments commences with the cession of the countries, granted by Cossim Ally Kawn.

This additional emolument is expressly to be understood as a distinct reward due to the personal merit of president Vansittart, and is absolutely to cease upon his quitting the government. It is not to be claimed, or any ways pretended to, by our future governors, whose fixed emoluments, very handsome and extensive, are confined to our former regulations.

After such encomiums and extraordinary rewards bestowed upon Mr. Vansittart's measures, none can account for the directors inconsistency, when two years after they called Mr. Vansittart to a strict account for the pretended malversations of his precedency.

Extract of the general letter to the president and council at Bengal, dated the 1st June, 1764, sent per Lapwing and Kent.

" Having considered what allowance should be made to Lord Clive, as president and governor,

we have agreed to settle upon his Lordship, and he is accordingly to be allowed the sum of six thousand pounds a year, to be paid him monthly, to commence upon his arrival in Bengal; which together with the one per cent, commission he is intitled to as president. out of the two and one and a half per cent. coinage duty, are to be in full consideration for all his services, both civil and military; consequently his Lordship is to have no allowance whatever by way of commission, or otherwise out of the revenues, from any of our territorial acquisitions whatsoever; and our orders thereupon, as contained in our letters of the 13th of March, 1761, and the 13th May, 1763, are from this time forward, to be null and void.

We do not mean to hinder his Lordship from receiving the usual commission, arising from the coral, and other licensed articles, consigned to him by private merchants; this his Lordship is to have in the usual manner.

For the reasons given in our letter of the eighth of February last, we were not induced to send positive orders to put a final and effectual end to the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, and in all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country. To the remarks we made in that letter, we must add one observation, which is, that it appears very extraordinary, that in a trade so extremely lucrative to individuals, the interest of the company should not have been at all attended to, or considered..

Those orders were sent, it is true, before we received the new treaty you entered into with Jaffer Ally Kawn, upon his re-establishment in the

the subahship, in which it is agreed, that the English shall carry on their trade by means of their own dustucks, free, from all duties, taxes, and impositions, in all parts of the country, except in the article of salt, on which a duty of two and one and a half per cent. is to be levied on the rowana, or hughley market price; wherein it is further agreed, that the late perwanahs issued by Cossim Ally Kawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties, for the space of two years, shall be reserved and called in, and the duties collected as before.

These are terms which appear to be so very injurious to the Nabob, and to the natives, that they cannot, in the very nature of them, tend to any thing but the producing general heart burnings and dissatisfaction, and consequently there can be little reason to expect the tranquility of the country can be permanent: the orders thereof in our laid letter of the 8th of February, are to remain in force, until a more equitable and satisfactory plan can be formed and adopted, which as it is impossible for us to frame here, delititute as we are of the information and lights necessary to guide us in such an important affair.

You are, therefore, hereby ordered and directed, as soon after the receipt of this as may be convenient, to consult the Nabob as to the manner of carrying on the inland trade, in salt, bettle-nut, tobacco, and other articles produced and consumed in the country, which may be most to his satisfaction, and advantage, the interest of the company, and likewise of the company's servants.

You are therefore to form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on the said trade, and transmit the same to us, accompanied by such explanations, observations, and remarks, as may enable us to give our sentiments and directions thereupon, in a full and explicit manner.

In doing this, as before observed, you are to have a particular regard to the interest and entire satisfaction of the nabob, both with respect to his revenues, and the proper support of his government; in short, this plan must be settled with his free-will and consent, and in such a manner as not to afford any just grounds for complaint.

In the next place, the utmost care and attention must be bestowed in forming the said plan, that, in some proper mode or shape, as just and equitable consideration be secured for the company.

If any inconveniences shall be apprehended to arise to the company's investments upon carrying on such an inland trade, you are to give us your full thoughts thereupon, and in what manner they may be obviated.

You are to give us your impartial and unbiased thoughts, also, whether the carrying on such an inland trade may affect the just rights and privileges of the French, Dutch, or any Europeans, and tend thereby to draw on any national altercations and embroils, which are by all means to be avoided. In forming the said plan, therefore you are to be particularly careful to prevent these or any evils of the like kind.

And here let it be remarked, that no persons whatsoever have a right to trade within the limits of

of the company's charter without their licence; if any new tracks of trade are fallen into, surely, therefore, the company's interest ought to have the preference, and be equitably considered; in order to induce them to permit their servants to participate in the advantages resulting from such trade.

In the 20th paragraph of this letter, we have mentioned, that the sum of six thousand pounds a year is to be allowed lord Clive, as president and governor; we do not mean that the sum is to include his extraordinary expences, in case his lordship shall at any time be under the necessity of taking the field: We therefore direct, that all such expences be borne by the company, and paid to his lordship, out of our cash at Bengal accordingly, in which all the frugality is recommended, that is consistent with the service.

The said six thousand pounds a year is intended as an appointment to lord Clive only, and not to be allowed to any future president and governor. We therefore direct, that any person who shall immediately, and in future succeed to the government after his lordship, be allowed over and above the commission on the coinage duty, three thousand pounds a year, as settled in our letter of the 13th of March 1761, for salary, expences of his table, and all other charges and expences whatsoever, as president and governor.

The general court of proprietors having on account of the critical situation of the company's affairs in Bengal, requested lord Clive to take upon him the station of president, and the command of the company's military forces there: his lordship has been appointed president and governor accord-

ingly, as mentioned in the proceeding part of this letter The intention of the general court, in desiring lord Clive to go to Bengal, was, that by his Lordship's character and influence, peace and tranquility might be the easier restored and established in that subahship In order, therefore, to answer the purposes, in a manner that we apprehend may prove most effectual, we have thought proper to appoint a committee on this occasion, consisting of his Lordship, Mr William Brightwell Sumner, Brigadier General Carnac, also Messrs Harry, Verelst, and Francis Sykes, to whom we do hereby give full powers to pursue whatever means they shall judge most proper to attain those desirable ends, but, however, in all cases, where it can be done conveniently, the council at large is to be consulted by the said committee, though the power of determining is to be in that committee alone We further direct, that as soon as peace and tranquility are restored and established in the subahship of Bengal, then the said extraordinary powers are immediately to cease, and the said committee be dissolved

As we would have the said committee, as long as it is necessary to exist, as before-mentioned, to consist of five members, in case thereof, a vacancy or vacancies, by death or absence from Fort William, they are to be filled up by the said committee, out of the civil members of the council, as they think proper from time to time

We are also to inform you, and direct, that the said committee is to be the committee for defending the settlements in case of being attacked by an enemy, agreeable to the directions and rules, laid down

down in our letter of the 12th of May, 1758; to which is to be added, Sir Robert Barker, the colonel and commandant of the corps of artillery.

The powers of the said committee are by no means meant to invalidate or dispence with, or in any ways prevent the carrying into execution the orders contained in the 53d paragraph of this letter, with respect to the deed of covenant of all our servants both civil and military, are to enter into, according to the true intent and meaning of the said covenant."

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Fort William, the 19th of September, 1766.
At a select committee, present the Right Honourable Lord Clive president, Brigadier General Carnac; Harry Verelst, Esq

The right honourable the president has urged the necessity of restricting the future governors of this presidency, in points of trade and private interest, with arguments of so much force and conviction, in the following minute, that we unanimously agree in recommending his Lordship's proposals to the board, that it may be carried into execution with all convenient dispatch

" Our attention as a select committee, invested with extraordinary powers by the court of Directors, has been constantly engag'd in reforming the abuses which had crept into the several departments of this government, the important work has been steadily prosecuted with zeal, diligence, and disinterestedness on our parts, and the success of our labour gives us reason to hope that our employers will be of opinion, we have established many useful and necessary regulations,

regulations ; many others, however, are still waiting to compleat our plan ; but I doubt not that the same principles, which have hitherto guided our conduct will continue to direct and to justify the measures we have yet to pursue.

To place the president in such a situation, as will render his government completely honourable to himself, and advantageous to the company, appears to be an object of as much consequence, as any that has been taken into our consideration ; where such immense revenues are concerned, where power and authority are so enlarged, and where the eye of justice, and of equity should be ever watchful. A governor ought not to be embarrassed with private business ; he ought to be free from every occupation in which his judgment can possibly be biased by his interest. The extensive commercial affairs, the study of the finances, the politics of the country, the epistolary correspondence, the proceedings of both council and committee, these are sufficient to employ every moment of his time ; and I am confident, that they cannot be conducted with the requisite attention to the company's interest, if the mind of the governor be diverted, by complicated mercantile accounts of his own.

If we look back upon those unhappy dissensions which have frequently brought the company's possessions in Bengal almost to the point of destruction ; we shall find, that they have generally proceeded from the conduct of governors, who, so eager in pursuit of private interest, have involved themselves in affairs which could not be reconciled to the strict principles of integrity, to prevent scrutinies

scrutinies and discoveries, which might in any degree affect their honour, they have frequently been reduced to the necessity of conniving at abuses, which would otherwise have been brought to light, and remedied. The welfare of this great company should be the sole study of a governor, attached to that point alone, his measures could never be thwarted by the malice of opposition; because they would all be proposed for the public good, and actions will always be justified or condemned, from the principals on which they are founded. Such a state of independency and honour, must be highly eligible to a governor; and, in my opinion, it can only be acquired by cutting off all possibility of his benefiting by trade, or by that influence which his power necessarily gives him in those opulent provinces.

I therefore propose, that the governor shall, in the most public manner, in the presence of all the company's servants, the mayor, and aldermen, and free merchants assembled at the mayor's court, take the oath, and execute the penalty bond hereunto annexed

The considerations I have proposed, is one eighth per cent upon the revenues, excepting those arising from the company's own lands at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong.

Although by these means a governor will not be able to amass a fortune of a million, or half a million, in the space of two or three years, yet he will acquire a very handsome independency, and be in that very situation which a man of nice honour, and true zeal for the service, would wish to possess.

Thus situated, he may defy all opposition in council, he will have nothing to ask, nothing to propose, but what he means for the advantage of his employers • he may defy the law, because there can be no foundation for a bill of discovery, and he may defy the obloquy of the world, because there can be nothing censurable in his conduct , in short, if stability can be insured to such a government as this, where riches have been acquired in abundance, in a small space of time, by all ways and means, and by men with or without capacities, it must be effected by a governor thus restricted, and I shall think it an honour if my proposal be approved, to set the first example.

The oath to be taken in the most public manner by the president.

The penal bond to be entered into by the president.

Ordered, That the above oath and bond be entered after the proceedings;

(Signed) Clive, John Carnac, H Verelst.

Mayor's Court at Calcutta, at Fort William in Bengal:

At a court held on Wednesday the first day of October, in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the third, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. and in the year of our lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six.

Present,

Present.

James Lester, Esq; mayor, Mr Robert Dabinson, Mr. Thomas Woodward, Mr. Cornelius Goodwin, Mr. David Killican, Mr. Matthew Miller, Mr Thomas French, Mr. George Lear, and Mr. Joseph Jekyll, Aldermen.

This being the day appointed for the right honourable Robert lord Clive, who now is governor or president of Fort William, in Bengal aforesaid, to take an oath, or make an affidavit in the said court, and execute a deed or covenant, in a large penalty which are expected and intended to be sworn to, and renewed or executed by all future governors, or presidents of Fort William in Bengal aforesaid,

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.